THE REFORMED POLITICKE.

That is,

AN APOLOGIE FOR THE GENERALL cauſe of Reformation, written againſt the ſclaunders of the Pope and the League.

VVith moſt profitable aduiſes for the appeaſing of ſchiſme, by abolishing ſuperſtition, and preſeruing the ſtate of the Clergie.

Whereto is adioyned a diſcourſe vpon the death of the Duke of Guiſe, proſecuting the argument of the booke.

Dedicated to the King by John Fregeuille *of* Gaut.

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1589.

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TO THE KING.

Diuers men finding them ſelues in like daunger, may better iudge each of others caſe, then any one that hath not experimented the like, as for example, no mã can better iudge of the charges and expences that a man hath bene at in the purſute of ſome proceſſe, then he that hath bene at the like.

This doe I ſay, Syr, ſith there is nothing more daungerous then ſclaunder, and that no man can better iudge of the peruerſneſſe thereof, then ſuch as haue both taſted and tryed it. So it is that the Reformed Princes haue bene ſclandered by the Pope, vvho hath noted them of hereſie: and in my opinõ your Maieſtie cã beſt iudge of the iniurie done vnto them, as hauing in your ſelfe tried the ſharpneſſe of the dartes of ſclander, for your Maieſtie haue vvith the like dartes bene atteinted, no leſſe pernitiouſly and maliciouſly then the Reformed Princes, cõſidering that the ſclander raiſed vpon your Maieſtie, vvas both vndirect and ſecret, but the ſame vvherevvith the Reformed Princes are charged, is open. Novv is it a plaine caſe, that a ſecret enemy is more daungerous then an open, and ſo conſequently they that haue touched your Maieſtie vvith ſuch a ſclander, bearing you invvard malice, are moſt daũgerous enemies. The ſclander vvherevvith the Pope hath charged the Reformed Princes

is vvell enough knovven, and the aunſvvere thereto, togither vvith their iuſt defence, ſhall in my opinion, be peremptorily enough intreated of in this preſent Treatiſe. But the ſclaunder vvherevvith the Pope doth charge your Maieſtie, deſerueth the laying open, becauſe that being both ſecret and indirect, it hath neuerthelesſe a more venimous tayle then the tayle of a Scorpion, and of the ſame nature: for the vvound can hardly be cured, but by the death of the byter. If the Pope could haue burdened your Maieſtie vvith hereſie, it is euident that he vvould not haue ſpared you: but your Maieſtie, haue alvvayes beene ſo good a Catholick, that he could not accuſe you of hereſie, but he muſt firſt haue condemned him ſelfe, and therefore ſeeing that vvay vvould not ſerue, he hath ſought out an other: for vnder hand he hath ſpread abroad ſundry brutes & nevves, importing that your Maieſtie do fauour hereticks, and haue about you thoſe that take part vvith heretickes, and theſe rumors hath he diſperſed, not onely in France, but through all Italie, Germanie, and other places. Novv therfore let your Maieſtie iudge vvhat an impreſſiõ this may leaue in the harts of the people, and vvhat a conſequence this action draveth after it, your Maieſtie may thereby read in the hartes of the Pope & the League, & turning the leafe neuer ſo litle, may knovv their driftes, togither vvith the conſequence of the matter: That is, that the Pope ſeeketh firſt to vveaken the part of the Reformation, that it may ſtand as an ○ in algoriſme, and next to bring in the Councill of Trent and the Inquiſition, ſo to authoriſe the League euen aboue your Maieſtie, ſo as no man may ſpeake amiſſe of the Pope or the League, but he ſhall ſodenly be caſt into priſon: and that once brought to paſſe, the next muſt be to lay hands vpon your ſelfe, and bury you in ſome Monaſterie: I ſay burie, becauſe ſo you ſhall dye

double

double in this vvorld: and by and by raiſe ſpeaches according to the impreſſions afore mentioned, that your Maieſtie hauing fauored the heretickes, are by his holineſſe depoſed from the crovvne, and the Cardinall of Bourbon declared next, but vnmeet for ſucceſſion, and therefore that he vvill ſet vp ſuch a one of the League as ſhall be at his deuotion: this I ſay vvill he doe, if your Maieſtie take not the better heede, and prouide not in time for it. Neither ſhall he doe any thing that hath not already bene done to your predeceſſours, vvhoſe eſtates the Popes haue troubled, vvhen there vvas no ſpeach of Reformation, but onely vpon mallice that they bare to the priuiledges of the Frēch Church. And alſo albeit your Maieſtie ſhould ſhake of the Popes yoke, yet ſhould you doe nothing but vvhat your predeceſſours haue ſought to do, vvitneſſe the Pragmaticall Sanction, neither ſhall it be any noueltie in Fraunce. The hatred alſo that the Pope beareth to your Maieſtie, is the ſame that he hath continued againſt your predeceſſours, euen for their priuiledges, therefore he vvould vvillingly haue in France ſuch a king as might be his creature, ſo that his driftes are as preiuditiall to the Clergie, as pernitious to your perſon, and vvhether they be hurtfull to the people, let the preſent troubles declare. For the people had bene at reſt, had not the League troubled all Fraunce, and therefore it is a matter that concerneth all, neither is there any other meanes to remedie it, but by ſhaking of the Popes yoke, your predeceſſours haue done it for a ſmaller matter, not in reſpect of Reformation, neither did king Henry the viij. in England ſhake it for Reformation, but for his ſtate: And this I vvill aduovv that the libertie and puritie of the Councell of Nice, vvhich vve doe craue, is better for France and the ſtate thereof, then the yoke of the Tridentine Councell that the League requireth. I call it li-

bertie, becauſe in the time of the Nicene Councell there vvas no Popish yoke and puritie, for that thē there vvas no ſuperſtitiōs. But albeit your Maieſtie vvill not come neare to that point, yet can you not eſcape the Popes ſuperſtitious practiſes, but by renouncing the Papacie, after the example of your predeceſſours deſires, and as king Henry the eight of England put in effect, not for Reformation, but for the ſtate. For it is moſt certaine that the Pope hath no povver to hurt any, but his ovvne faction, or ſuch as haue any dealing vvith him: but to thoſe that haue forſaken him, his poyſon is ſpit, his povver to hurt is ended, and his endeuors are quayled and made of no effect. Had king Henry of England ſtill followed him, he vvould either by guile, excommunications, or croiſades, haue thundered againſt him, but hauing caſt him of, the Pope might like a Cerberus vvith his three heades crovvned vvith three crovvnes, haue barked at him, but byte he could not. The like vvill it be vvith all that forſake him, vvell he may barke, but not byte, your Maieſtie may knovv vvhat difference there is betvveene the fidelitie of the Reformed, and the conſpiracies of the League: The Reformed vvill dye in your ſeruice: but the Pope by the League, ſeeketh to make your Maieſtie odious to your ſubiectes, and to other Princes and people about you, by miniſtring vnto them ſuch vvicked impreſſions by their ſecret ſclaunders. It is a goodly matter to knovv vvhom to truſt, and vvhom to take heede of, neither vvonder I but at one thing, vvhich is, that the Sorboniſtes hauing afore time denounced a Pope an hereticke, that the Clergie haue not as yet declared this a ſchiſmaticke, for raiſing ſo great a ſchiſme in Europe, but eſpecially for ſtirring vp the ſubiectes againſt their king in Fraunce. I vvill not any further dilate vpon theſe matters,

ters, vvhich are ſufficiently knovven to your Maieſtie, and Kinges loue breuitie. I haue no more to ſay, but to pray vnto the Lord to bleſſe and proſper your Crovvne, and to make your ſcepter to ſprout, florishe and bring forth fruict as he did thoſe of Ezechias and Ioſias. From London this 12. of December. 1588.

Your Maieſties moſt humble, obedient and faithfull ſubiect.

Iohn Fregeuille of Gaut.

AN APOLOGIE FOR THE GENERAL CAVSE OF REFORMATION, AGAINST THE SCLANDERS OF THE POPE AND THE LEAGVE.

THE I. TREATISE.

POore is that garden wherin there groweth but one hearbe, and wretched is that orchard that yeldeth but one kinde of fruict. But the excellencie of that orchard which God him ſelfe planted in the beginning of the world, hath he declared in cauſing it to bring forth all kinde of fruicts, euen the tree of knowledge of good and euill, and the tree of life: albeit our ſelues now haue, God be prayſed, a more excellent orchard then that, which yeldeth ſuch fruict as is more pretious, rich, pleaſant, and in excellencie without compariſon. This our orchard is planted in the garden plot of new Ieruſalem, and yet we neede not to clime the heauens to dreſſe it, or to eate the fruicts thereof. For this Ieruſalem is diſcended out of heauen, ſo that we may vpon earth be conuerſant therein, but with a ſpirituall and heauenly conuerſation. This our orchard is the orchard of Gods word, wherein among all other fruicts which with infinite diuerſitie do grow therein, we may alſo finde the tree of good and euill, which is the law, and the tree of life: For the law is a tree of knowledge of good & euill, becauſe thereby we may diſcerne the good from the bad, as S. Paule ſheweth, where he ſaith, that by the law we haue the

1 *Gen.* 2 9. *Apoc.* 21. 2. *Rom.* 7. 7.

knowledge of ſinne: And as for the the Goſpell, who can denie it to be the tree of life euen of life euerlaſting? and our ſelues
Apoc.22.2. do know that in ſundry parts of this new Citie is planted that tree of life, which beareth twelue fruicts, according to the twelue ſeaſons of the yeare, whoſe leaues do ſerue for the health of the Gentiles. Now when a gardener or any other that enioyeth the fruicts of a garden, purpoſeth to feaſt his frendes, he preſenteth them not with one onely ſorte of fruict, albeit he iudge it to be the beſt, but offereth them ſundry kindes, ſo to pleaſure them with the choiſe, knowing that there is as great diuerſitie in the taſtes, as in the kindes, and that it is recreation to iudge of varietie of taſtes, becauſe varietie delighteth. But they which
Apoc.19.7. purpoſe to entertaine the gueſtes at the mariage of the lambe, muſt likewiſe out of the Lordes gardens choſe ſundry fruicts, wherewith to content the bridegromes friendes, and to ſatisfie the diuerſitie of their taſtes or iudgements, according to which rule haue we out of this heauenly orchard gathered fruicts admonitorie, inſtructiue, Deuine and Politicke, which are ſundry reaſons of diuers ſortes, whereof ſome be admonitorie, others inſtructiue ſome Deuine, and others Politick as hauing reſpect to the diuers iudgementes of men, of whom ſome may be led and kept in awe with ſimple admonition, where others require ſomewhat of greater force for their better inſtructions, and vnto ſuch muſt be exhibited reaſons inſtructiue: Others there are
Luc.10.42. likewiſe of Mary Magdalenes diſpoſition, ſuch as choſe the better part, to whom we muſt propound reaſons Theologicall: others againe do reſemble Martha, whoſe hartes are ſet vpon the affaires of this world, & to thoſe muſt we deliuer reaſons of
Heb.5. Pollicie, and after the example of S. Paule, giue milk to ſuch as can not brook any other foode, and ſtronger meat to thoſe that haue ſtronger ſtomacke Neither are Politick reaſons vtterly to be diſdained ſith God him ſelfe vouchſafed to eſtabliſh a Politicke gouernement in Iſraell, as well as to inſtruct the conſciences. And if any perſon be vncapable of higher matters, and neuertheleſſe may be brought by Politicke reaſons to doe his duetie, why ſhall we forbeare to inſtruct him by ſuch reaſons as he is moſt capable of? And therefore haue we forborne

nothing

nothing that we haue thought might ſeeme to induce men to the knowledge of the truth, and the performance of their duties, yea we are perſwaded that we haue brought a fruict of no ſmall conſequence to all Europe, in that we ſhew by reaſons aſwell Deuine as Politick, that the truth whereof we here entreat, is both fit for the conſcience, and commodious to the ſtate: which neuertheſſe is a matter contrary to the opinions of many, who haue accoumpted the truth to be in deede conuenient to the conſcience, but hurtfull to the ſtate and the reaſon that led them ſo to iudge, was becauſe they iudged but ſlenderly of matters depending vpon the truth, which notwithſtanding do no leſſe mainteine Pollicie in the generall eſtate of a people, then conſcience in the perſon of euery Chriſtian: and therefore we will deuide this preſent Treatiſe into two partes, whereof the one ſhall be diſcuſſed by reaſons Theologicall, the other by reaſons Politicall, which Treatiſe we do name *The Reformed Politick*, becauſe that in the ſame we doe mainteine Reformation for the moſt part by Politick reaſons, albeit we hope ſhortly to ſecond it with Deuine, concerning Church gouernement, to the end to ſtrengthen that part which ſeemeth the weaker, albeit of it ſelfe it be ſtrong enough.

Nothing in the olde ſerpent is more ancient then lying, whereof he is the father, neither is there any thing more familiar to Satan then ſclander, whereupon he is called the Deuill, that is, a ſclanderer. The obiect alſo of his ſclander is no other thē God and his Church, for vpō what reaſon ſhould he ſclander his owne? ſo ſhould he oppoſe him ſelfe againſt him ſelfe, and worke his owne deſtruction, ſo as his kingdome could not ſtand. But he is not aſhamed to ſclander God, and to gaineſay his worde: for when God ſaid to Adam, *Thou ſhalt dye the death*, he feared not to contrary him, ſaying, *No, you ſhall not dye the death*, ſo that albeit this ſpeach of Satan was not in euery reſpect contradictorie to Gods, yet was it his intent to gainſay God. For the meaning of Gods words ſtretched to the eternall death, whereof man made him ſelfe guiltie the ſelfe ſame day that he tranſgreſſed Gods commandement: but Satan aymed onely at the bodily death: neither imagined he that God 2

Apoc. 12. 9. *Iohn.* 8. 44. *Mat.* 12. 26 *Gen.* 2. 17. *Gen.* 3.

had ſpoken of any other death, and therfore meant by contrarying that point to make God a lyer, and not that onely, but alſo to bring of God into ſuſpition of enuie, as vnder hand taxing him to enuie mans felicitie, as if God had forbidden man the eating of the tree of good and euill, for feare leaſt he ſhould become like vnto God, by the knowledge of good and euill. As for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, it is not to be doubted but the deuill hath ſclandered him. For what greater ſclander would any man haue thē ſclanderouſly to put him to death? So that if Satan en-
Iohn.13.27 tered into Iudas togither with the ſoppe, to the end to cauſe him to bring his treaſon to effect, who doubteth but he had likewiſe quoifed the Scribes and Phariſeis, to make them enterpriſe the death of the ſonne of God? which being ſo, who can doubt but thoſe goodly titles that the Phariſeis gaue to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, were forged in the ſame ſhop and by the ſame workmā? who charged our Lord that by Beelzebub the Prince of de-
Mat.12. uils he caſt out deuils? If thē he durſt ſo ſhameleſly ſet him ſelfe againſt God & his only ſonne, is it any maruell that he dare ſet vpon men the ſeruants of God, bruting abroad in all places, that the faithfull which ſerue God vnder the puritie of Reformation are heretickes? We are therefore to know that as to Satan there is nothing more familier then to ſclander God, Chriſt Ieſus, and his faithfull members: ſo is there nothing more familiar to the faithfull, then to ſee them ſelues ſclandered by the old ſerpent and his angels, which are his members and ſuppoſts. And this is ſo familiar and ordinarie to thē that there neede no example. For we know what ſclanders and perſecutions Gods people haue endured by ſtrangers, and the Prophetes by their brethren, in ſo much that it is written, that no Prophet hath bene put to death but in Hieruſalem. And this teacheth vs that euen ſuch as in outward profeſſion ſeeme to be Gods people, do for the moſt part perſecute Gods elect, and thoſe whō he will ſanctifie, and ſeparate from the broad way that leadeth to deſtruction. For as they that among the Iſraelites ſacrificed vnto Baal, did perſecute them which bowed not vnto him, euē ſo in the Church which is termed Chriſtiā, they that folow like ſuperſtitions, do perſecute thoſe that will not cleaue to the ſame.

For

For this cauſe in the Apocalypſe the Church which is compared to a woman enuironed with the ſunne, crowned with 12. ſtarres, ſtanding vpon the moone, is notably ſaid to be ſent into the wilderneſſe by the two winges of the great eagle. Which great eagle hath relation to the Romaine Empire and the dependances thereof, as is the Papacie, which hath brought this woman into the wilderneſſe, where being, ſhe is compared to a mightie harlot holding a cup full of the abhomination of her whoredomes, which are the ſuperſtitions that ſeparate vs from the deſolate woman, and repleniſhed with the bloud of the Martyrs, which hath bene ſhed becauſe they would not cleaue to theſe ſuperſtitions. Euen as the Idolatrous Church of Iſrael perſecuted the true faithfull which ſerued God in pureneſſe, ſo alſo the deſolate and ſuperſtitious Church amõg the Chriſtians, doth perſecute the faithfull, that ſeeke to ſerue God purely and without ſuperſtition. But withall the examples of the pacience of the faithfull in old tyme ſhould be vnto vs a miror of pacience: and the promiſes of our deliuerance which God hath made vs, ought to be as it were oyle to refreſh the lampe of our hope, as alſo theſe fatherly correctiõs ſhould be a teſtimonie vnto vs, that God accompteth vs his children, to the end that we walke worthely, as children of ſuch a father, ſeparating our ſelues from the vanitie and frowardneſſe of the world, to follow the truth in abandoning vanitie: and ſeeking to ouercome the world by that faith, which is the victorie, arming our faith with charitie, zeale, ſinceritie, truth and the feare of God. Now the cauſe why we ſee that the faithfull are ordinarily perſecuted, not onely by ſtrangers, but alſo by thoſe that aduow them ſelues to be the people of God, and of his Church, is, becauſe that in the Church there be both of the children of Agar and of the children of Sara, and the children of Agar do vſually deſpiſe and perſecute the children of Sara: albeit to their own harmes. And Iacob alſo was an exile 20. yeares in a forein land, for feare of his brother Eſau: ſo doe we ordinarily ſee in the Church of God, that they that are borne after the fleſh doe perſecute thoſe that are borne after the promiſe, appertaining to Gods election. The aduerſaries of the Reformation do ſay that Apoc. 12.

the Reformed are heretickes, whereto I aunſwere, that reaſon maketh the man,& truth the Chriſtiã. To ſpeake without reaſon is not the part of a man,but to bable:and to ſpeake againſt the truth, by charging any one in that which concerneth the conſcience, is to ſclander,and it is the deuils rhetorick.Chriſtian Religion is not built vpon auctoritie but vpon truth,not vpon the auctoritie of men,but vpon the truth that is of God: If the aduerſaries of Reformation ſhould be driuen to proue their accuſation by reaſon and truth,they would be ſhreudly troubled, and we may plainly ſay that they could not do it: becauſe that either they are ignorant wherein Reformation doth conſiſt, or if they know they can not taxe it of hereſie without ſpeaking againſt their owne conſciences, and therefore we will entreat vpõ this point,to the end that in few wordes it may manifeſtly appeare, that there is no hereſie in Reformation, and alſo that all that the Reformed are charged withall is but ſclander.

It is the part of a good archer to finde the white at the firſt view,and to hit it with the firſt ſhaft,and he ſhall be deemed a good and expert maſter,ſo that it come not by chance.S.Paule hath ſhewed the excellẽcie of his arte,in that with one only arrow he reached the end of the law,and with an other the mark that was ſet vp as the end of the Goſpell.The arrow wherewith he hath hit the end of the law, was but one onely worde,vnder the which he hath comprehended the whole doctrine of the law, and that is, Charitie,and the ſhaft wherewith he pierced the mark of the Goſpell, is alſo this onely word, Faith, where vnder he hath alſo comprehended the whole doctrine of the Goſpell. Now then if any man would know wherein conſiſteth the difference betweene Reformation and the doctrine termed Catholick: it is in the ſuperſtition. For take the ſuperſtition out of that Religion, which in name is termed Catholick,and there will remaine no difference betweene the Catholick,and the Reformed, and therefore I appeale to the iudgement of any diſcret perſon in this caſe, videl. whether it be hereſie not to cleaue to ſuperſtition: for if it be hereſie,Reformation may be taxed of hereſie:but if it be no hereſie,they which terme them ſelues Catholickes, can not taxe Reformation with hereſie,

Rom.13.11
Gal 5.14.
Gal.5.5.

hereſie, vnleſſe it be with ſclander. For Reformation differreth not from the Catholicke Religion but in one point, which is ſuperſtition.

Many there be that haue formed them*Chimeres cõcerning Reformation as imagining it to conſiſt in thoſe things wherein it doth not conſiſt, and whereof ſome haue ſpoken lightly, and others haue iudged raſhly, each condemning it for want of vnderſtanding, ſome haue perſwaded them ſelues that they vnderſtood it very well, and yet neuer tooke paines to ſeeke into the depth of it. There are that haue thought Reformation to conſiſt in ouerthrowing the eſtat of the Clergie, and this foreiudgement hath bene a greater hinderance to Reformation then the weapons of the Leaguers. For it is certaine that had the Clergie ſuppoſed, that they might vnder Reformation haue enioyed their eſtate, they would haue craued it, to the ende to haue ſhaken of the yoke of ſuperſtition, which is burdenſome to the greateſt part of them, and therefore they neuer retained ſuperſtition, but for their eſtates ſake: and if the Clergie had admitted Reformation, the people would alſo haue embraſed it, and ſo had the Popes partakers bene vnarmed, and haue had no meanes to enterpriſe the League: and we fortified with thoſe that doe now ſtrengthen our aduerſaries faction. True it is that whē the bridegrome calleth the gueſtes to the mariage, there is no excuſe of buying of land or vines that may ſerue, or withhold vs. Yea we muſt euen renoūce all goods and come to Chriſt when he calleth, and yet it doth not follow that we muſt binde men to buy Reformation with the loſſe of their goods. Amōg the aduerſaries to Reformatiō, this preſuppoſe hath through the Popes ſubtiltie had courſe: But what? Ieſus Chriſt proteſted that he came not to aboliſh the law, but to fulfill it, & reprouing the faultes of the Phariſies, exepted their eſtate, ſaying, Theſe thinges ought to haue bene done, and yet the other not left vndone, which notwithſtanding they haue ſtill imagined that it ſhould ouerthrow their eſtate, and thereupon haue obſtinately ſet them ſelues there againſt, which hath bred the deſtruction that they ſtood in feare of. This preſuppoſe hath alſo waſted the demaynes of the Clergie, which vn-

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* The name of a monſter that caſteth fire out of his mouth, hauing the head of a lion, the belly of a goat, and the taile of a dragon.

Luke. 14. 17.

Luke. 14. 33.

der the Reformation might haue bene preſerued, but the fault was in that it was neuer propoũded, procured or ſo much as demanded: nothing will be obteined without requeſt: but that that is done is done, & therfore let vs prouide for that that is to come. And the documentes of the Lord are giuen vs to inſtruct our ſelues therewith, but not to enter to farre into iudgement of others matters. Many alſo haue bene planted in Reformatiõ, and therein hauing taken roote, haue made no difficultie to dye for the ſame, who if they ſhould haue bene forced at the firſt bluſh to purchace it with the price of all their goodes, it is vnknowen what they would haue done. Many alſo there be that haue abandoned their goodes, yet not the vſe of them, but the care and diſquiet, as the Apoſtles did their nets, and yet they ſtill vſed them, euen after the Lordes reſurrection: yet muſt we not take the Lordes inſtruction to the ende thereby to caſt a ſtumbling block in our brethrens way, neither to enter to farre into iudgement of others, but euery one to iudge him ſelfe, according to thoſe inſtructions, and to referre the reſt to God: as alſo I ſay not this to the end to mitigate things paſt, but to wiſh men to be more circumſpect in time to come. For when we haue throughly wayed all thinges, we ſhall finde Reformation to import nothing contrarie to the ſtate of the Clergie. To the end therefore that none may hereafter call this article into queſtion, I will ſet down the reaſons wherupon I build my ſpeach.

Firſt England hath vnder the ſtate of Reformation preſerued the ſtate of the Clergie, as alſo in ſome partes of Germanie it is kept ſound, and yet may be better preſerued in Fraunce.

Secondly the ſtate of the Clergie dependeth vpon the Moſaicall Policie. The Gentiles then being grafted into Iſraell as
Rom. 11. 17 the wild oliue is into the naturall, the Epiſcopall branche is grafted into the Leuiticall, & therfore ſucceeding in their functiõs, they ought alſo to ſucceede in their priuileges and rights.

Thirdly the end of Reformation tendeth not to corrupt the order and pollicie that Moſes hath eſtabliſhed, but to reforme that which the Popes haue corrupted with their ſuperſtitions.

Fourthly Reformation tendeth not to ſet the new Teſtament againſt the old, or to arme Ieſus Chriſt againſt Moſes, nei-

ther to ſhewe that Ieſus Chriſt with one hand deſtroyed that which he built with the other: for he is the auctor as well of the law as of the Goſpell: but rather to ſeeke out that harmonie and agreement, which is betweene the law and the Goſpell, which is taught by the harmonie of the Canticle of Moſes and of the lambe, ſet downe in the Apocalypſe. 15. 3. whereby we be taught, that throughout all the holy Scripture there is not any repugnance, abrogation, or contradiction. And in deede we ſhould do God great iniurie, if we ſhould imagine that he vſed any repugnancie in his lawes, abrogation in his decrees, or contradiction in his rightes: well there may be ſome derogations, but a derogation doth but expound an edict, by taking away ſome weake part and of no value or importance, to the end to corroborate the more important part, as we ſee that the Goſpell derogateth from the law, by taking away the letter, as the manuall Circumciſion, thereby to ſhewe the excellencie and importance of the Circumciſion of the hart, wrought without handes, and taught by the Prophetes vnder the law and by the Apoſtles in the Goſpell.

Ierem. 9. Rom. 2. 29. Colloſſ. 2. 11

Fifthly, as in the law we may conſider the pollicie and ceremonie, the law hath waxen old as concerning the literall ceremonie, not concerning the ſpirite: but the pollicie remaineth, as appeareth, firſt, in that S. Paule teacheth vs, that the Gentiles (as in the dayes of Dauid) were aforetime eſtranged from the pollicie of Iſraell, for ſo doth the Greeke text import: neither doe I alter the termes, as coueting rather to draw at the well head then out of the chanels: and I finde no reaſon to tranſlate common wealth in ſtead of policie. I know we are all made fellow burgeſes of heauen, but beſides, we are all made partakers of the policie, that is to ſay, of the priuileges: howbeit by the ſame we are bond and made ſubiect to the ſame rightes, which we ought not to giue ouer to obey traditiõs. I know there may be great obiections made, but I haue likewiſe greater ſolutions, which I reſerue for the Treatiſe of the policie of the Church, and it ſuffiſeth me here to ſet downe the fondamentall reaſons. Some may ſay vnto me, that S. Paule ſpeaketh of the ſpirituall policie, not of the externall: whereto I aunſwere, that the

Απηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τῶν Ισραήλ.

Mosaicall gouernement is spirituall, first becausse the spirite of God penned it, secondly becausse S. Paule saith that the law is spirituall: but the part is of one kinde in his course, and there is as great difference betweene this gouernement, and a gouernement simply externall, as there is betweene Gods law and mans traditions. For the law is spirituall, and mans traditiõs are carnall, and purge no more but the outside of the cup, whereas Gods word is penetratiue, euẽ to the partition of the soule and the spirite, of the sinewes and marow, and this gouernement is Gods word, which clenseth the whole cuppe as well within as without, and therefore can not be called simply externall, but internall, whose principall end tẽdeth to rule the inward man.

Againe S. Paule saith that the law is good, if it be lawfully vsed. Then must we without question seeke out the lawfull vse therof, that is, we must take it after the spirite & newnesse therof, and not after the old letter. Now the spirite of the law is the equitie thereof, but the letter is the rigour of the wordes. And therefore we must not after the rigour of the wordes, take eye for eye, or tooth for tooth, neither do I thinke, that the iudges that liued vnder the law, did in such points folow the letter. Thus we may see wherefore S. Paule in his Epistle to the Ephesians inuiteth vs to the gouernement of Israell, when he laid open the vanitie of the righteousnesse of the law against the merites of workes, and the abolishment of the law, against such as constituted righteousnesse in outward ceremonies, whom he teacheth that the new Testament abolisheth the old, howbeit that is to be vnderstood concerning the old letter, whereto is opposed the newnesse of spirite.

Exod. 21. 24.
Rom.
Gal.
Heb.

A third reason will I also adde, for that S. Paule saith, that the law was giuen for the transgressions: for by that we know that we are to vse it to correct transgressions, and that selfe place serueth for a farther explication of the lawfull vse of the law, whereof we spake in the former article. For the law consisteth in Commandements, commanding naturall equitie: and thereof doth S. Paule call it the law of Commandementes: but the Gospell requireth a supernaturall perfection, wherof the creature man who is naturall is vncapable, which perfection is expounded

pounded by inſtructions, admonitions, counſels and examples. Now he that fulfilleth not the law, is by the law puniſhable, as hauing ſinned, for ſinne is the tranſgreſſion of the law, as S. Iohn teacheth, ſaying πᾶσα ἁμαρτία ἀνομία ἐστί. But there be things concerning the profeſſion of the Goſpell, which who ſoeuer fulfilleth not is reproueable, and yet not puniſhable, and therefore the law remaineth to bridle and puniſh tranſgreſſions. The thinges belonging to perfectiō, are, not to looke vpō a woman, to couet her: after a blow on the one cheeke, to turne the other: to him that requireth but thy coate, to giue both coate & cloake: to do good to our enemies: & to be perfect, as our father that is in heauen is perfect: who ſo doth not theſe thinges, is neuertheleſſe not ſubiect to puniſhment: but he that contrarie to the law deflloureth a maiden, muſt according to the puniſhmēt of the law, giue her a dowrie or mary her: he that hath ſtolen foure ſheepe, muſt according to the puniſhmēt of the law, be taught by his paſtor to reſtore fiue. I omit that which concerneth the Ciuill Magiſtrate, and ſpeake onely of that that toucheth the gouernment of the Church, and this ſatisfaction which the paſtor is to impoſe, taketh place, when the man cōmeth of him ſelfe to cōfeſſe his ſinne. Here may ſome man obiect vnto me, that the law was a ſchoolemaiſter to bring vs to Chriſt: to whō I anſwere, in this place S. Paule ſpeaketh of the ceremoniall law, which ſetteth a diſtinction betweene cleane and vncleane things, grounded vpō the elements of this world, and were neither taſted of, nor eaten, but were ſhadowes of things to come vnder Chriſt. Mat. 5.

In the law was to be conſidered, gouernement and ceremonie, alſo that there was two kindes of gouernement, the Ciuill & the Eccleſiaſticall, where Moſes had the Ciuill & Aaron the Eccleſiaſticall: likewiſe in the Prieſthood of Aaron there were two things, the Eccleſiaſticall gouernemēt and the ceremonie: ſome Prieſts there were that medled rather with the ceremonie then with the gouernement: but there were likewiſe Leuites that were not Prieſtes, but dealt onely in Eccleſiaſticall iudgementes, being Doctours of the law, of whom ſome remained in the ſanctuarie townes, there to iudge of murthers by chaunce medley: howbeit they could not iudge by tradition, but by law.

Deut. 17. Vpon the eſtate of the Clergie depended theſe fiue thinges: 1. ceremonie, and the right of the ſacrifices. 2. The reuenues. 3 poſſeſſions. 4. dignities, and fifthly the lawes whereby they ſhould iudge the people. For the ceremonie, they had ſacrifices: For their reuenues, they had the tenthes: for their poſſeſſions, they had 48. townes, their cattell and the houſes that they purchaſed, alſo the vowes: and in ſtead of this the French Clergie haue their demaines & tenthes: for their dignities they had the order of Iethro. Exod. 18. Deut. 17. And the lawes that they were to obſerue were the lawes conteined in the law. Deut. 17. Act. 23.

Num. 35. 11. *Leuit.* 25. 32. *Leuit.* 27.

Now it is to be noted, that the law gaue the Prieſtes authoritie to iudge, & that in ſuch ſorte, that who ſoeuer did not obey them, was denounced worthy of death: howbeit hereto were added two bonds. The one that the Prieſt could not cõdemne, but in ſpecifying the law of God, whereby he did cõdemne: the other, that the perſon condemned dyed not but by the Ciuill Magiſtrates handes, who had authoritie to looke, whether the man were iuſtly condemned, according to the law cited in his condemnation. Deut. 17.

I ſay therefore that the Chriſtian Clergie, liuing holily may poſſeſſe their reuenues: neither will I be a more ſeuere cenſurer of their eſtate, thẽ Ieſus Chriſt was of the ſtate of the Phariſies. But alas, if Ieſus Chriſt bewailed the wretchedneſſe of the Phariſies, becauſe they tithed the mint, and had left iuſtice or mercy, how much more lamẽtable is the wretchedneſſe of that Clergy, which termeth it ſelfe Catholick: which poſſeſſeth theſe holy reuenues to the end to mainteine Gods lawes, and yet haue not onely forſaken them, and cleaued to traditions, but alſo do mainteyne ſuperſtition contrarie to Gods lawes, yea and perſecute ſuch as will not cleaue to the like? How much better were it for them to poſſeſſe them holily in liuing according to God? whereby they might liue honeſtly with lawfull wiues, where as now they waſt them vnworthely vpon harlots. Hetherto haue men thought, that the part of the God of this world was fauorable to the Clergie, and that Gods part was contrarie to them: but in deede Gods part is more fauorable to the Clergy then

then the contrary part: and not to the Clergie onely, but to all the people, in respect of the warres which the superstitiõs haue brought in, which cã not be ended but with agreeing with God: for Gods wrath which hath stirred vp these scourges, must be appeased, and then God will appease these troubles which breed our miseries. There is then no hinderance but that the the Clergie may enioye their rightes and priuileges. True it is that in S. Paule there be some admonitions and examples: but they neither make law, neither abrogate any law: had S. Paule bene in the dayes of Eleazar the sonne of Aaron, he would haue taken the tenthes: but being in such a time as the Churches were poore, he laboured with his owne hands to spare them: For he was a principall mã, who knew how to abound and how to want, and so spared them, but not vpon duetie, as him self testifieth. 1. Cor. 9. Likewise had Aaron or Eleazar bene in the dayes of S. Paule, when the Churches were poore, they would haue laboured with their owne hands, or bene content with food and raiment: but had they bene in the time of great Constantin, whẽ it was lawfull to possesse the tenthes, they would haue vsed them. Out of all which we do gather, that he which hath little must be content with a little: and he that hath much must endeuour to vse it lawfully. And herein consisteth the knowledge how to abound, or to want, when a man can be content with his want, and not forget him selfe in his plenty. As for Ecclesiasticall dignities, we graunt them euen to the higheſt, according to the order of Iethro, which order was neuer constituted in the new Testament, but was practised, and in deede the new is not to ordeine matters already ordeined in the old, but to put them in practise. Now after the order of Iethro, the chief Bishops do succeede in the high Priests roome, and the Apostles are to be considered as soueraine Bishops, becaus that next to Iesus Christ there were none in greater authoritie thẽ they, but there were in lesse. And for their partes they were in equall authoritie each with other: for sith our Lord would not appoint any one to be the greateſt amõg his Apostles, he hath left them all in equall power, neither could any man giue them any greater: besides, he appointed them in like degree, to the end they *Phil. 4.*

ſhould be chief in thoſe prouinces whither Gods ſpirite ſent them, and ſo ſhould not neede one to depend vpon the other. Now that they were chief it appeareth, firſt in that Sainct Paule likeneth him ſelfe vnto a maſter builder, not a ſimple maſſon, and others to maſſons that build aboue, when he ſaith, that him ſelfe laid the foundation, and that the reſt builded thereupon. Secōdly, in that both from Corinthe and other places they did write vnto S. Paule, to decide the moſt difficult matters among them: for it is the office of the chiefeſt to decide the moſt difficult cauſes Exod. 18. Deut. 17. S. Paule likewiſe charged Titus as a Biſhop to ordeine Prieſts throughout the cōgregations Tit. 1. And Titus receaued that charge frō S. Paule, as from a greater then him ſelfe: For S. Paule vſeth commandement. S. Paule alſo. 1. Cor. 11. 34. ſaith, when I come I will determine of the reſt, thereby reſeruing to him the ordering of ſuch thinges, as could not be performed but in the preſence of the chiefeſt: He alſo ſaith, that he that giueth the bleſſing, is greater then he that receaueth it: Euen ſo may we alſo ſay, that he that commaundeth is greater then he that obeyeth: and he that ſendeth, then he that is ſent. Now S. Paule commandeth Timothie, ſaying, I commande thee in the name of God. &c. He required alſo obediēce in Philemon, ſaying, truſting in thine obedience. True it is that he alſo vſed entreatie, whereof groweth the Prouerbe, a great Lordes requeſt is as good as a commaundement. S. Paule likewiſe willeth Timothie not to admit any accuſation againſt the Prieſt or Elder, without two or three witneſſes: ſo that Timothie might admit or reiect accuſations againſt Prieſtes, wherefore it followeth that he had iuriſdiction euen ouer the Prieſts.

Heb. 7.

1. Tim. 6.

1. Cor. 4. *Tit. 3.* *2. Tim. 4.* Sainct Paule alſo ſent Timothie to the Corinthians: He commaunded Titus to come vnto him, alſo to ſend Zene a Doctour of the law, and Apollo: and he commaunded Timothie to come before winter, and to bring Mark with him. True it is that Paule ſent Timothy to the Corinthians, but Titus wēt not as one ſent, but offered him ſelfe, and Sainct Paule ſent a famous brother to the congregations, and therefore in the 12. chap. of the ſame Epiſtle, he ſaith that he deſired Titus, and ſent a brother. He alſo ſaith that he requeſted Apollo who would

2. Cor. 8.

not

not goe, adding withall, that he ſhall go ſo ſoone as his leaſure ſerueth him, and ſo ſheweth, that he did not refuſe, but delay. In all which it appeareth, that euery thing was done in good order: yet will I ſay, that the Apoſtles vſurped no dominion ouer Gods elect, or Lordſhip ouer their faith, or ouer the Lordes inheritance: but in deede there is differēce betweene dominion & iuriſdictiō: They exerciſed no dominiō, but exerciſed their offices, as hauing iuriſdictiō. True it is that they exerciſed this iuriſdictiō with charitie rather thē authoritie, as alſo it is the duetie of euery Biſhop. Here might one obiect that ſith the Apoſtles were equall in authoritie, the Biſhops alſo ought to be of equall authoritie: But I deny the conſequence, & will proue it to be no conſequēce by the ſaying of S. Paule, where he cōpareth him ſelfe to a wiſe maſter builder laying the foundatiō, and the reſt to the workemen that build thereupon: For admit all architectes and maſter maſſons were equall, yet followeth it not that all ſimple maſſons or workmen ſhall be ſo. In deede it followeth that all chief Biſhops in euery kingdome or ſoueraigne principalitie ſhould haue like authoritie. Moreouer the Apoſtles were equall among them ſelues, but other Biſhops were not equall with them, as we haue already ſhewed. I know that Paules building may be referred to the preaching, but the interpretation hindereth not the applicatiō. Likewiſe we might bring an other example, and that is, that albeit the Counſellers in a Parliament be equall in authoritie, yet doth it not follow that the Counſellers of Preſidiall ſeas, be of equall authoritie with them. Here may they alſo obiect, that S. Paule calleth Titus his companion, and ſaith to Philemon, if thou accompteſt me thy fellow: whereto I aunſwere, that Eneas called his ſouldiers his fellowes, and yet it followeth not that they were equall with their Captaine. And a Captaine may ſay to his ſouldier, I am thy fellow, and it becommeth him, but the ſouldier ſo ſay the ſame, it were vnſeemely. It may alſo be obiected, that S. Paule calleth the other Biſhops his helpers and fellow labourers: whereto I anſwere, that all workemen are fellow labourers and helpers of the maſter maſſon, yet not equall with him. And God ſometime maketh men his fellowlaborers, yet not e-

2. Cor. 8.

quall with him ſelfe.

I ſay then that the Eccleſiaſticall dignities haue place euen to the higheſt,but not vniuerſall,which vſurpeth dominion euen ouer kinges,yea ſo farre forth as to diſpoſe of their ſcepters and crownes: and I will proue my ſaying thus. The high Prieſthood of Aaron was ſubiect to the iudgemēt ſeat of Moſes and the kingdome of Iuda. Alſo in the law which God ſet downe, there was no Prieſthood aboue the kinges, and that by reaſon of the law,ſith that vnder the principalitie of Moſes, there was a high Prieſthood:therfore it followeth that vnder euery Chriſtian ſoueraigne principalitie,there ſhould be a chief Biſhop, yet not ſo as to acknowledge any vniuerſall Biſhop. Sith alſo that Ieſus Chriſt would not ordeine any to be greateſt among the Apoſtles, it followeth that there ought not to be the greateſt among the chief. And Ieſus Chriſt forbiddeth his Apoſtles to vſurpe dominion:the vniuerſall Biſhopricke is therfore no lawfull order,but a cōfuſion engēdred by Babell. If any mā will alledge the pretended donation of Conſtantine the great, I aunſwere,that many impugne it as falſe, beſides that a couenant cā not be of any force to abuſe or to vſe it cōtrary to good maners,as the Pope ſtriueth to vphold ſuperſtition,repugnant to all good maners and true godlineſſe, yea the ingratitude of the receauer of the donation,maketh the donation voyde: but the Popes haue practiſed all ingratitude againſt the Emperors, procuring their ſubiectes many times to rebell, preſcribing their Empires, working their deathes, betraying of them, as Fredericke Barbaroſſa was betrayed to the Turke,and treading vpon their throates, with ſuch other ingratefull inſolencies. Againe the Emperour hath no authoritie in Fraunce, he can not then giue the Pope any there. In Fraunce Conſtantines authoritie is vnknowen,neither doth any man giue that which he hath not, nor can transferre any further right then his own. But if he beare him ſelfe vpon the authoritie of Doctors, I will alledge one Doctour, euen S. Gregory,who ſaith that the firſt that ſhall take vpon him to be vniuerſall Biſhop, ſhall be the forerunner of Antichriſt. If they alledge the Coūcels, I anſwere, that ſome of them haue improued the Popes authoritie, albeit

ſome others aſſembled by the Popes driftes and practiſes haue approued it. And admit the Councels had without contradiction approued it, yet let vs looke whether their Decrees be grounded vpō Gods word: for in that caſe we muſt obey them, as alſo if they be not contrary to Gods word: But Ieſus Chriſt expreſſely forbiddeth ſuch dominion, then may no Councell authoriſe it. For S. Paule ſaith, that he may doe nothing contrary to the truth, how then ſhall the Councels be of force againſt Chriſtes expreſſe prohibition? Againe, in Fraunce the king hath the Ciuill dominion, and the Parliamentes haue no dominion, but the iuriſdictiō: likewiſe in England the Queene hath the dominion, and the Biſhops the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction: But the authoritie which the Pope vſurpeth, is a dominion, which exalteth it ſelfe aboue kinges, and therefore by Gods word expreſly forbidden. Thus hath the Pope no right, neither any colour in Gods word, neither is there any king or prince by Gods word ſubiect vnto him, no not ſo much as any chief Biſhop that is bound to acknowledge him. But all kinges and ſoueraigne princes, may in their kingdomes and principalities eſtabliſh chief Biſhops, after the maner and example of England.

I haue before ſhewed that the ſtate of the Clergie is no cauſe of our ſeparation from thoſe whom in Fraunce we call Catholickes, and therefore the abuſe may be thought to be the cauſe, but it is not: for there is no gouernement wherein there may not be abuſe, but the abuſe ſimply it not ſufficient cauſe of ſchiſme. We know that there was neuer any more excellent gouernement then the ſame which God eſtabliſhed, yet did the childrē of Hely the high Prieſt cōmit great abuſes, defiling the women appointed to watch the tabernacle, & againſt the peoples willes, and contrary to the cuſtome eſtabliſhed in the law, chuſing ſuch meates as they liked in the Prieſtes kettles. The people cōplained hereof, yet made they no ſchiſme, as in deede they ought not: and now if we were to complaine of the Catholickes but for their ſimple abuſes, we ſhould haue no cauſe to make any ſchiſme: well might we haue occaſion to cōplaine, yet not therefore to ſeparate our ſelues. 4

1. Sam. 2. 12. 1. Sam. 13.

5 It may be thought alſo that ceremonies are the cauſe of our ſeparation from the Catholickes, yet are they not ſo, howbeit I make great difference betweene ceremonies and ſuperſtitions: for ſuperſtition is forbidden by Gods word, ſo are not ceremonies, for there be three kindes of ſimple ceremonies, one Legall, an other Euangelicall, and the third indifferent, yet not contrary to the word of God. The Legall are aboliſhed as concerning the letter, but doe remaine, as concerning the ſpirite, cõſidering that their truth is eternall, & abideth for euer as the word of God. The Euangelicall, as the Sacraments, are neceſſarie. And others there are which be indifferent, as not forbiddẽ by the word of God, for the which one ſhould not condemne an other. The ſame are ſuch as are vſed in ſundry Reformed places, as in Englãd, Switzerland and els where. In which ceremonies the Reformed faithfull ought to haue reſpect to modeſtie: one to beare with an other, according to the rule of S. Paul, who ſaith: Let not him that eateth not, deſpiſe him that eateth, and he that eateth, let him not reproue him that eateth not, that is to ſay, let not one condemne an other. True it is that there be fooliſh and trifling ceremonies, as in Baptiſme to put the ſpatle of the Prieſt into the childes mouth, when as ſometimes the Prieſt ſhall be halfe a lazare, halfe rotten, and haue rotten teeth, or a ſtincking or corrupt breath, which can not but be daungerous for the child, and therefore vpon ſo villanous a cuſtome, the father may ſometimes take occaſion not to cleaue thereto: as alſo there be garments, which being worne vpon any ſignification, and for diſtinction in callinges, are ceremonies, but if we attribute any vertue vnto them, they be ſuperſtition.

6 The cauſe thẽ of our ſeparation cõſiſteth not in the ſtate of the Clergie, neither in the abuſes, nor in the ceremonies, but in the ſuperſtition. Superſtition do I call all worſhipping of falſe Gods: falſe worſhipping of the true God, or euery worſhip contrary to the word of God.

As for the word ſuperſtition, it is a Latin word, and may be taken diuerſlly. It may be takẽ for that which in Latin is called *Superſtitum parentatio*, that is to ſay, the ſuruiuours funerals, there hence transferring it to any other falſe worſhip, or rather

ſuper

ſuper ſtatutũ cultum, extranea & prophana adiectio, taking *ſuper* in ſtead of *præter* or *contra*, which ſignifieth all worſhip that is added, beſides the ſame which God hath eſtabliſhed. The Greekes do call it δεισιδαιμονία, which ſignifieth the worſhipping of the deuils: but vary it how they will, I force not, ſo the definition remaine.

Superſtition then being the cauſe of our ſeparation, it is alſo to be thought that we can not allow any ſuperſtitious doctrine: But diſcretiõ is needefull to be had, in clearing the cauſe of ſuperſtition from that that concerneth the ſtate, and not to condemne any thing raſhly.

The ſuperſtitions that cauſe vs to abandon the Popes partie, are the worſhipping of Images and Reliques, the inuocation of Sainctes, Purgatory, Tranſubſtantiation, Artolatrie, Traditions, the Popes orders eſtabliſhed by ſuperſtitious traditions, falſe and ſaleable Pardons, falſe merites derogatorie to Chriſtes merites, and ſuch like.

As for Images, it is a matter ſufficiẽtly beaten by other, and therefore I ſhall not neede to enter into particularities, for it is manifeſt inough, that the worſhipping of them is idolatrie. I know that euery Image is not an Idoll, alſo that an Image ſimply maketh not an Idoll, but the worſhip thereof, which is ſuperſtition: For it is written, Thou ſhalt not honor it. But we doe honor it, when we celebrate it with any worſhip. I alſo graunt, that an Image ſet vp for a hiſtorie is no Idoll, as we ſee in the temples of thoſe that are called Lutherans in Germanie, but if we attribute any vertue thereto, it is ſuperſtition: for the vertue that we attribute, is the cauſe of the worſhip and honor thereto, yet is it good vtterly to purge Gods Church frõ theſe Images, which haue bene cauſes of the peoples Idolatrie, howbeit it were to be wiſhed that it might be done by the kinges authoritie. And it is to be meruailed, that in the Churches there are the Images of God the father, ſith God him ſelfe hath *Deut. 4.* ſo expreſly forbidden it. For if they might take place, the heathen ought not to be reproued for their Image of Iupiter. For it is certaine that by Iupiter they vnderſtood *Ioue pater*, and it is an auncient character of Noahs Religion, who called God Ie-

houa. And the Poete saying, *Iouis omnia plena*, speaketh of the great God creator of all thinges. I will omit all Poeticall fictions, neither doth my Argument leade me to speake of them.

As for the Images of Iesus Christ and his Saincts, if that of Iesus ought not to be worshipped, much lesse ought those of the Saincts: but that of Iesus Christ must not be worshipped, it is then in vayne to worship those of Saincts. Some man may say that they worship them not, hereto I aunswere, that when we exhibite so great reuerence to any thing, as we can not exhibite more to God him selfe, we worship that thing. But such is the worship that is done to Images, before the which we vncouer our heades, bend our knees, hold vp our handes, make our prayer, present our offring and such like: Tell me then I pray you, what more can we doe to God him selfe? But the subtiler sorte do say: ween you that when I kneele before a Crucifixe of wood or stone, I pray to the wood or stone? No I doe it to the thing represented by that wooddē Crucifixe, and looking thereupon, do direct my prayer to Christ. Thinke you, say they, that I am so senceleſſe as to stay vpon this visible Image? mine eye is in deede vpō the visible Image, but my hart is with Iesus Christ that is in heauen. But let me aske thee, Thinkest
2. *Kin.* 18. thou that they which sacrificed to the brasen serpēt had not the like starting hole? They had more reason to sacrifice thereto, then thou to a Crucifixe. For it figured Iesus Christ hanging on the wood: and whereas thy Crucifixes be erected by superstitious men, without any cōmaundement from God, that was erected by Gods expresse commandement: and whereas some of thy Crucifixes are authorised by false miracles, that was famous by the miracles wrought in the desert, by healing such as the serpents had bitten. All which notwithstanding, when the people began to sacrifice thereto, Ezechias brake it, saying, that it was but brasse. Wherefore if these starting holes should take place, who doubteth but the Israelites would haue had the like? Thou worshipest, sayest thou, Iesus Christ, and art not so senceleſſe as to worship the Crucifixe: weenest thou the Israelites were so senceleſſe as to worship the brasen serpent, and not rather him that was thereupon figured, hanging vpon the wood?

or

or thinkeſt thou that they were ſo ignoraunt, that they knew it not to be the figure of the Meſſias, ſith they liued in a time ſo illuminated with Prophetes, as was the time of Ezechias? Had ſuch ſhiftes taken place, Ezechias would neuer haue deſtroyed the braſen ſerpent, which notwithſtanding theſe ſhiftes, being broken, thy excuſes alſo take no place. Thou wilt ſay, that they ſacrificed to the braſen ſerpent, but that thou doeſt not ſacrifice to the Crucifixe. I anſwere, that there were two ſortes of ſacrifices, the one burnt offerings the other meate offrings. The burnt offrings were made of beaſtes: The meate offrings of fruicts, as of corne, wine, bread, oyle & ſuch like, wherfore whē thou offereſt the like thinges to the Crucifixe, thou ſacrificeſt againe to the braſen ſerpēt: And whē thou makeſt thoſe offerings before the Images of Sainctes, thou doeſt yet worſe. To be brief, all theſe excuſes are but ſtarting holes, and it is no hereſie to abandon ſuch ſuperſtition: yea this ſuperſtitious worſhip is the cauſe that iuſtly we may well call them Idols. And S. Paule teacheth vs, what ſoeuer is ſacrificed to Idols, is offered to Idols, wherein we doe learne that the Idols which in old time aunſwered by oracles, were deuils. Yea there be ſome deuines, which note the worſhip of the Images of Sainctes, and there be Images vnder the Catholicke Religion that abuſe the world, which thinketh, that the Sainctes doe worke miracles: albeit they be ſuch miracles as the old oracles wrought long agoe. Wherein it is euidēt, that they are the ſame deuils, which abuſe the people, hauing onely chaunged their names. In old time they would be called God, and now they wilbe termed Sainctes. The Gods of old time had their Prieſtes and Sibilles, and now the Sainctes haue their Southſayers: they frame thē ſelues to the time, but in the meane time the people is abuſed thinking becauſe the name is altered, the matter is changed. As for the diſtinctiō of Honor, Latrie, Doulie & Hiperdoulie, it is an other kinde of ſhift, which hath neither reaſon nor grounde in the word of God. Now therfore do I appeale to euery mans iudgement in this matter: viz. that ſith they worſhip Images, whether this worſhip may not be taken for ſuperſtition and Idolatry, alſo whether this worſhip maketh not their Images Idols. 1. Cor. 10.

And S. Paule teſtifieth, that Idols be deuils: Therefore theſe Images whereto they erect worſhip are deuils, that is to ſay, deuils are worſhipped in them: and ſo being deuils, we are not to haue any acquaintance with them. For Sainct Paule telleth vs that we can not participate, both in the cup of the Lord and in the cup of deuils, and ſo he ſheweth vs that to be partakers of both togither, be two incompatible extremities. To the end therefore to participate in the Lordes cup, we are forced to ſeparate our ſelues from the Pope, who mainteineth the cup of deuils, that is, Idolatrie. This then is the cauſe of our ſeparation, which who ſoeuer will iudge without paſſion, I am aſſured will finde to be lawfull. This is in deede the matter of our ſeparation, and not the ſimple abuſes, neither the ceremonies ſimply, and much leſſe the ſtate of the Clergie: for the which thinges there ought not to be any breach made in the Church: well may we in modeſtie require the correction of the abuſes, when there be any, yet not therefore make a ſchiſme.

7 Concerning inuocation of Saincts, that is yet an other kinde of ſuperſtition, for this we know, that all worſhip of God and deuine ſeruice, is contained vnder theſe two kinds, inuocation and thankeſgiuing. And this adoration or worſhip is ſo proper to God, that it can not be transferred to any other, as he ſayth, *Thou ſhalt worſhip one God onely, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue*: which is that kind of adoration and worſhip that ought to be reſerued to God onely, and not transferred to others. But in the religion tearmed Catholicke, they do no leſſe transferre thankeſgiuing to the Saincts then inuocation: for they make their vowes to Saincts, and to pay vowes and oblations, is to celebrate thankeſgiuing, and therefore it may be ſayd, that they transferre the whole worſhip vnto them, and ſo do no longer worſhip one God onely, neither ſerue him alone: but as concerning worſhip and adoration, do giue him as many companions as there be Saincts, whom they inuocate. Beſides that, ſometimes ſuch a one is vpon earth inuoceted for a Sainct, as in deede is broyled in hell fire, & ſo may they finde in hell ſome one, whom they make a companion of God, in reſpect of worſhip and adoration: neither will I ſay that idoles, being by S. Paules

Paules teſtimonie, deuils: the deuils do cauſe them ſelues to be worſhipped as Sainctes in their ſteades. Againe, albeit it were not forbidden, yet ſith there is no commandement for it in the worde, that worſhip can not be according to the faith which commeth of the hearing of the word: and whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne, as S. Paule witneſſeth. And there can be no hearing, where there is neither cõmandement, inſtruction, exãple, nor admonition. But beſides the commandement to worſhip and ſerue one God onely, S. Paule reproueth the worſhipping of Angels, which is as much as to reproue the worſhipping of Sainctes: for they being the meſſengers of the will of God, are compriſed vnder the name of Angels, as we ſee in Malachy, who is called the Angell of the Lord. It is alſo written of Iohn Baptiſt, *I will ſend my Angell before thy face, who ſhall prepare thy wayes.* And the ſeuen Biſhops of the ſeuen Churches of Aſia, are called the ſeuen Angels of the ſeuen congregations, with many ſuch other examples, infinitely to be found in the holy Scripture. So that the Sainctes being named Angels: vnder the prohibition of the worſhip of Angels, is contained the prohibition of the worſhip of Sainctes. The Angels alſo as S. Peter teacheth, are greater then the Sainctes, and therefore if the worſhip of Angels, who are greater then the Sainctes, be by S. Paule reproued, how can the worſhipping of images ſtand? All ſuch therefore is but vanitie and ſuperſtition, and the forſaking of ſuch matters is good, ſo farre is the abandoning of them from being hereſie. True it is that ſome do bring in diſtinctions, as thus: That they call not vpon the Sainctes for remiſſion, but for interceſſion: whereto I anſwere, that howſoeuer they call vpon them, or with whatſoeuer title it be, yet is inuocation ſtill inuocation, adoration and worſhip, and ſo ſtill forbidden by the commandement, *Thou ſhalt worſhip one God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue*, neither can theſe diſtinctions take place, vnleſſe the holy Scripture did expreſly propound them, no more then the diſtinctiõs of honour, *latrie, doulie*, or *hyperdeulie*. And they be ſufficiently confuted by denying onely, becauſe there is no ſuch matter contained throughout the holy Scripture authenticall. To be briefe, we muſt call vpon God onely, & not vpon Sainctes,

1. Cor. 10.
Coloſſ. 2. 18
4. Eſd 1. 40
Mala. 3. 1.
Mat. 11. 10
Apoc. 1.
Iſay. 33. 7.
Mala. 2. 7.
2. Pet. 2. 11.

and to God only must we addresse our vowes,& not to Saincts. Some may obiect, that the Saincts in heauen do know what is done vpon earth, yea and that they pray to God for vs. Wherto I answer, that the Prophets being in the world, knew the generall estate of the Church, and do better know it in heauen: but they are no searchers of the hearts, for that is proper to God only. And S. Paule saith, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit of man, which is in man himselfe: wherefore the spirits of men which are in heauen, do not know what is in the spirit or heart of man that is vpon earth. But he that is a Mediator, must know his heart & intent for whom he intreateth. I will not denie but charitie may moue them to pray for vs, yet do it not follow thereof, that we should call vpon them, sith we haue no such commandement.

8 As for prayer for the dead, and the doctrine of Purgatorie, it hath foundation but vpon the second booke of Machabees, the sixt booke of Virgils Aeneides, and Homer. Which be very weake props to hold vp so heauie a building. They giue vs o-
Eccl.12.7. ther pretences, but in vayne, sith that as Salomon testifieth, whē the dust returneth to the dust, the spirite returneth to God that gaue it, which sheweth that when man dyeth, his spirite returneth to God, of him to receaue his iudgemēt, which being pronounced there is no appeale: neither are there but two wayes, the broad and the narrow, two gates, the wide and the streight, and two issues, life and death. So as there is no voyde place betweene to build Purgatorie vpon.

One point there is, which is, that the rentes that are giuen to pray for the dead, might be conuerted to the instruction of the people, and to pray for the saluation of the suruiuors their successours: for so might that which hath bene giuen to a superstitious vse be conuerted to a lawfull and godly vse, following the
Num.16. example of censers of Chore his partakers, which hauing bene offered for a conspiracie, were afterward conuerted into golden plates vpon the altar of the Lord.

9 Neither can the doctrine of transubstantiation be admitted, because it standeth not with any deuine reason, that an earthly thing should be transubstantiated into a heauēly, that is, earthly

ly bread into heauenly bread. For if the bread be tranſubſtantiated into Chriſtes body, then ſhould Chriſtes body be likewiſe tranſubſtantiated into a dead and earthly bread diſpoiled of his qualities and powers. Now there is nothing that letteth vs, but that we may eate Chriſtes body clothed with all his qualities and powers, without ſubiecting it to earthly bread: for we muſt eate it as liuing bread, ſith Ieſus Chriſt ſaith, that he is the liuing bread, and the bread of life. But there is great difference betweene eating it as liuing bread, and eating it as a dead, ſenceleſſe, earthly and immoueable bread. And tranſubſtantiation gainſaith the eating of it as liuing bread, when it repreſenteth it vnder the earthly kindes of a dead and immoueable bread: which is a ſpeach moſt vnworthy the body of Ieſus Chriſt: beſides that we doe ſubiect the heauenly thing ſignified vnto the earthly ſigne, which is yet more vnworthy the doctrine of the Euchariſt, and therefore the abandoning of ſuch doctrine is no hereſie. *Iohn 6. 51.*

Thereby alſo it appeareth that it is ſuperſtition to worſhip the Sacramentall bread, becauſe the thing ſignified ought not to be ſubiected to the thing ſignifying: and his body which cõteineth all thinges can not be compriſed in a dead and earthly thing. This is ſtill to worſhip the braſen ſerpent, which was but braſſe, & yet was no leſſe a Sacrament of Ieſus Chriſt hanging vpon tree, then is the Sacramentall bread. And therefore theſe matters are but ſuperſtitions, whereto we are not bounde to cleaue. And ſuch as perſecute vs becauſe we will not bend our neckes to the yoke of ſuperſtitions, doe lend to a good marchant, who is able to pay them well again. They haue a marueilous accompt to make: but we, thankes be to God, may giue a good accompt of our conuerſation, not before men onely, but euen before God, who will not be deceaued: and therefore let theſe men looke what accompt they be able to giue before God: for men may ſometimes be deceaued: but God will not be dalyed with all: The corroſiue of conſcience may for a while ſuffer them to ſleepe, but the fire once kindled therein will neuer be quenched, & S. Paule ſaith, It is an horrible thing to fall into the handes of the liuing God. *Heb. 10. 31*

10 As touching the Maſſe, Reformation is not an enemy ſimply to it, but alſo to the ſuperſtitions wherewith it is ſtuffed. Some Catholickes there be, that ſay that we doe euill in that we cleaue not to the Maſſe, becauſe there be ſome good thinges therein, as the Epiſtle and the Goſpell. True it is, there be good things, but there be alſo bad: namely all that is ſuperſtitious: & therefore take away the bad, and ſo ſhall we ſoone compound for the reſt, and grow to agreement.

11 Traditions haue alſo in part bene the cauſe of our ſeparation from the Pope, but who will for that accuſe vs of hereſie? haue not both Eſay and Ieſus Chriſt taught the ſame? yea there be ſuch traditions as S. Paule termeth doctrine of deuils, as is that of vowed chaſtitie, for S. Paule teſtifieth that Gods ſpirite expreſſely doth ſay, that in the latter dayes ſome ſhall reuolt from
1. *Tim.* 4. the faith, cleauing to ſpirites of errour & the doctrine of deuils, ſpeaking lyes in hypocriſie, hauing their conſciences ſeared with a hoate iron, forbidding mariage, and commanding abſtinence from meates, created by God for vs to vſe with thankeſgiuing. Theſe be S. Paules owne wordes. Now let vs ſee who they are of whom he ſpeaketh? They are thoſe that prohibite mariage: he ſpeaketh then of the Pope, for he forbiddeth mariage in commanding chaſtitie. For what is chaſtitie but a prohition from mariage?

But what doth he ſay of them? Firſt he ſaith that they be reuolted frō the faith: they be then gone frō the groundes thereof. Tell me then, be not they that erre from the grounds of faith heretickes? Then is the Pope an hereticke, euen by the euident teſtimonie of Gods ſpirite, and yet doth he accuſe vs of hereſie. He ſaith well: but who is he that condemneth vs of hereſie? It is the Pope: Then is it a man, and we may well appeale vnto God. But he that pronounceth that the Pope is reuolted from the faith, and ſo conſequētly an hereticke, is the ſpirite of God: I pray you thē, to whom ſhall he appeale? what, will he thinke that Gods ſpirite hath ſpoken vnwiſely, & therefore is ready to recant his ſentēce, which he hath ſo ſolemnely pronounced?

Secondly he ſaith, that they depend vpon the ſpirites of errour. Then are not we to hang vpon them.

Thirdly

Thirdly he ſaith, that they cleaue to the doctrine of deuils: Is not that I pray you, to communicate in the cup of deuils? then can they not communicate in the cup of the Lord: for S.Paule witneſſeth, that we can can not be partakers of the cup of the Lord, and of the cup of deuils: we can not then communicate with them, but we muſt alſo communicate in the cup of deuils, which we can not doe, but by renouncing the cup of Chriſt. Are we to be blamed then for departing from them? 1.Cor. 10.

Fourthly he ſaith, that they ſpeake lyes in hypocriſie: which appeareth manifeſtly in the ſclaunder that they charge vs with, when they taxe vs with hereſie. For would you haue a greater lye then that? what greater hypocriſie doe you require then the ſame, which contrary to his owne conſcience ſclaundereth his neighbour?

Fifthly he ſaith, their conſciences are ſeared, whereby we ſee that it is not without cauſe that they reſiſt the truth. For a man would greatly marueile, to ſee theſe reſiſt ſo euident a light, for the vpholding of thoſe ſuperſtitions, wherein the darkneſſe is as palpable as was that of Egypt in times paſt: But now that we know their conſciences to be ſeared, we thinke it no more ſtraunge that they reſiſt the truth, conſidering that the ſearing of their conſciences doth take from them all feeling thereof.

Here might ſome obiect, that S.Paule ſpeaketh of other heretickes that may come after vs, & not of the Pope. I graunt he may alſo ſpeake of others, neuertheleſſe it followeth not thereby, that he ſpeaketh not of the Pope, and for proofe thereof I will for example bring Gods ſaying to Noah. *He that ſheddeth a mans bloud, let his bloud be ſhed by man:* How if a murtherer ſhould ſay, that this were not ſpoken by him, but by his neighbour, who might peraduenture haue killed a man: would not the Iudge aunſwere, that it had relation to both, yea and to all other ſhedders of mans bloud, who thereby doe make themſelues guiltie of the ſame offence? In like maner if there were a hundred ſectes, which prohibited mariage and the vſe of meates, the ſpirit of God in the place before alledged, doth note all the whole hundred: & all other conſequẽces would be as forcible againſt euery of the hundred, as they be againſt the Pope,

My meaning is, that all such Doctors which propound the traditiõs of vowed chastitie for a doctrine, that is, to make a cõscience therof, are reproued by S. Paule. Neuertheleſſe I ſay, that the reaſon is not a like, when we keepe Lent vpõ policie, without binding the conſciẽce: becauſe that in that caſe, it is no ſnare to the conſcience. Here might ſome man ſay, that S. Paule there ſpeaketh of the latter dayes, and therfore meaneth not that Lent and abſtinence from mariage which were inſtituted long ago. Hereto I aunſwere, that S. Iohn euen in his time, ſaid that there were many Antichriſtes, and that thereby he knew the latter dayes then to be come, ſo as if the time of the Apoſtles were by the holy Scriptures termed the latter dayes, much better may the ſpirite of God in this place call thoſe the latter dayes, wherein both Lent and abſtinence from mariage were brought in.

1. Iohn. 2. 18.

12 Infinite particularities which might be alledged, will I omit, as being content to haue touched ſome part of the groſſeſt abuſes, and now will proceede to ſpeake generally of our Doctors doctrine, which I ſay can not be taxed of hereſie. Some thinges doe they hold common with the Catholickes, and in ſome others doe they differ. As well the one as the other haue ſome good thinges, wherein they doe agree, and in either of them may there be found ſome thinges diſputable: for all men are men. Herein doe they differ, that the Doctors which call them ſelues Catholickes, I ſpeake of thoſe of our dayes, haue their faces turned to ſuperſtition, where as the Reformed Doctors, haue as concerning that point, ſatisfied them ſelues by departing from Popiſh ſuperſtitions. Superſtitious doctrine vpholdeth the worſhip of Images, which is Idolatrie: and it vpholdeth the prohibition from mariage, and from the vſe of meates, which Gods ſpirite termeth the doctrine of deuils: It is therfore found to be erronious, ſith the ſpirite of God doth ſay, that ſuch men cleaue to the ſpirites of error, yea that they be euen reuolted from the faith, ſhewing that they haue eſtranged them ſelues from the true groundes therof, wherein it conuicted them of hereſie. In this then doe they differ, videl. that in the ſuperſtitious Doctors there is hereſie, but in the Reformed there is none. Some matters there may be diſputable in the

the authors of Reformation, but no hereſie, that is, no doctrine vtterly repugnant to the principles of faith. I know there be Catholicke Doctors, that ſome times doe skirmiſh againſt the Reformed, & to perſwade men that there is errour in their writings, doe often times propound ſuch thinges as the others neuer ſpake of, or if they haue ſpoken of any ſuch, do wreſt their wordes into an other ſence. But admit that in ſome point there be ſome fault, as all men are men, & we will not make our Doctors Apoſtles, there is difference betweene a ſimple ouerſight and an hereſie, but for that cauſe we may not taxe the Reformation of hereſie, ſeing that we accompt not our Doctors opinions as oracles, or groundes of doctrine.

Moreouer we confeſſe that we drawe neare to the Lordes day, and the day is ſo formed, that the breake of the day goeth before the ſunne riſing, and the ſunne riſing before noone. The breake of day is neuer ſo cleare as the ſunne riſing, neither is the ſunne riſing ſo light as high noone, whereof we conclude, that in the Reformation, there is nothing ſo cleare, but may be better lightened. Againe, a tree beareth fruicts, that come not all vnto ripeneſſe, but ſome part become vntimely fruictes, which the tree letteth fall, & thoſe are ordinarily ſoure, bitter, wormeaten, &c. and yet the reſt of the fruict which groweth vntill it be ripe proueth very good. Euen ſo this age hath brought forth many writers, and infinite vayne writings, neither haue we as yet ſeene for the moſt part, other then vntimely fruicts of Reformation, but when the ripe fruict appeareth, then ſhall we know the excellencie thereof. Hereupon is it ſaid in the Reuelation, let him that is holy, ſanctifie him ſelfe better, which teacheth vs to labour for perfection, by correcting the imperfections that be within vs. Moreouer I ſay that often times the Catholicke Doctors doe in their Pulpites ſtriue againſt our Doctors and obteine all the victorie, where as if they had to deale with a partie, they might be forced to deuide it: for he that maketh his own hands to play each againſt other, is ſtill ſure to winne all, but if he ſhould ſet them to wraſtle with an other, is in daunger to loſe. But no man can ſay we haue done amiſſe, in giuing ouer the Catholicke Doctours, main-

teiners of ſuperſtitious doctrines, to the end to cleaue to others which mainteine no ſuperſtitions.

Superſtitions then haue ſeparated vs from the Pope, not the ſtate of the Clergie. For we doe allow of the ſtate of the Clergie, as being ordeined by God, ſo long as it cleaueth to Gods lawes, which doe allow the eſtate thereof, vpon condition, that they renounce all ſuperſtitions repugnant to Gods word, and exerciſe equitie, charitie and mercy.

13 The Pope and his ſuppoſtes doe ſay, that Reformation is a new matter, and muſt therefore be authoriſed by miracles, holding as a principle, that euery new doctrine muſt be authoriſed by miracle. Which if it be ſo, I ſay their ſuperſtitions ought rather to be authoriſed by miracles, as being more new then the religion of the Reformed. For the Popes moſt auncient ſuperſtition is the ſame of the Croſſe & of Reliques, which holy Croſſe Helene the mother of Cõſtantine the great found after the Councell of Nice: & the reſt haue crept in ſince in proceſſe of time, as Images, abſtinence frõ mariage, Purgatorie, & ſuch like: & thoſe which were brought in by Helene the mother of great Cõſtantin, & grand mother of ſuperſtition, haue already cõtinued 1260. yeares, which is the terme to thẽ prefixed in the Reuelation, ſo as thereby we may know, that they are come to their full periode. I ſay therefore, that the pure doctrine continued from the Apoſtles vnto the Councell of Nice: & that ſuperſtitions crept in ſince. This doctrine then which was before the ſuperſtitions which were brought in by Helene, and by the Popes augmented, was pure, and yet more auncient then ſuperſtition: and is the doctrine which the Reformed doe ſhoot at. The Religion therefore of the Reformed, is more auncient then the Popes ſuperſtitions, and therefore neede not to be authoriſed by miracles: hauing already bene authoriſed, by the ſame miracles, which our Lord and the Apoſtles did worke: and Popiſh ſuperſtition being the newer, ſtandeth in greater neede of authoriſing by miracles: yea and thus much will I mainteine, that albeit it had miracles, yet might they not ſuffiſe to make it of authoritie: For no miracles can authoriſe that doctrine, which the holy Scripture declareth to be the doctrine

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1. Cor. 10. 1. Tim. 4. Deut. 13.

Mat. 12. 39

But what greater miracle doe you craue, thē to ſee in France a handfull of the Reformed, committing many ouerſightes in the ſtate, and many times ſuffering them ſelues to be ſnared through ouermuch ſimplicitie, ſtill hold out, notwithſtanding all the ſubtelties and endeuours of ſo many mightie and wiſe men of this world? I wonder that neuer a Catholicke Doctor

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Act.5. will reaſon according to the diſcourſe of Gamaliell and ſay, If
2 Tim.4. this Reformation be of men, the Clergie neede not to ſell their demaines, and conſume their reuenues for the authoriſing of it, for it will come to naught of it ſelfe, but if it be of God, the Clergy haue leſſe reaſon to waſt their goods to make warre againſt God.

1.Tim.4.3. S.Paule teſtifieth, that abſtinence from mariage is a doctrine of deuils: I know there may be ſundry cauilles alledged to blemiſh this matter, howbeit it can not be ſo well ſcoured but there will remaine ſome filth. It may be demanded why he calleth it a doctrine of deuils. I anſwere, becauſe it is a doctrine repugnāt to God. For God ſaid, It is not good that mā be alone, ſpeaking generally of all, as well of the Clergie as of the laitie,
Gen.2.18. and the Pope thinketh it good that mā ſhould be alone, namely a Clergie man, wherein he contrarieth God, & ſo did Satan contrarie God when he ſaid, *You ſhall dye the death.* Againe, mariage was ordeined for three cauſes, whereof two were expreſ-
Gen.2.18. ſed in mans creation, videl. that woman might be a helper to
Gen.1.28. man, and for the generation of children. The third cauſe doth
1.Cor.7.9. S.Paule expreſſe ſaying, that it is better to mary then to burne, ſo ſhewing it to be a remedy againſt temptations. I may therefore demande, ſith God gaue this law generally to all men, why ſhould the Clergie be depriued of a cōmon law? For ſith temptations are common, they doe as much aſſault the Clergie as others, and they being thus depriued of the common remedie, muſt of neceſſitie fall, and ſo is this a ſnare which the deuill hath ſet vp to cauſe them to ſtumble, and a yoke that he hath layd vpon them vnder the pretence of holyneſſe. Now if any will obiect the ſaying of S.Paule. *That he which marieth his daughter doth well, but he that marieth her not, doth better*, I aunſwere,
1.Cor.7.36. that S.Paule in the ſame place ſaith, *Faciat quod vult, non peccat ſi nubat*, which is, let her do as ſhe ſhall thinke good, ſhe ſinneth not, though ſhe mary. And proceeding in his purpoſe he ſaith, *That the father may keepe her a virgine*, it is to be meant, If ſhe will, according to the former ſaying, That ſhe doe as ſhe will. This my verſion I authoriſe by S.Paule who ſaith, that he ſpeaketh not this to ſet a ſnare: for to force the maydens will, were

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as much as to set a snare in her way: and therefore I conclude thereupon, that they which of voluntarie abstinence from mariage, haue made a law, binding the people to one of these extremities, videl. either to forbeare mariage, or Ecclesiasticall functions, haue set a snare and vndertaken more then S. Paule. In summe, we may see that the deuils erected this snare to cause the Clergie to fall thereat: and thereof it commeth that S. Paule termeth abstinence from mariage, a doctrine of deuils, I speake of the Priestes vowed chastitie, which is subiect to a law. Euen at the Councell of Nice did the deuils endeuour to bring this their doctrine into the Church, but Paphnutius withstood it, and the Councell would not admit it: whereof we gather, that the Church vntill the Nicene Councell, was free from those superstitions, for the which we haue forsaken the Papacie: And so I now say, that if they meane to allow the Catholicke Religion, they must procure it to be receaued in like forme as it was at the Councell of Nice. The League laboureth to bring the yoke of the Tridentine Councell into France, but we craue the libertie of the Nicene Coūcell, that is, the state of the Church may be such as it was, from the time of the Apostles vntill the time of the Councell of Nice, while there was neither Pope nor superstition.

S. Paule teacheth vs to pray in an intelligible language, to the end the people may be edified: whereof it followeth, that Gods word and matters depending thereupon, ought to edifie the people in that language which they vnderstand. I doe omit many other particular points, easie to be decided by such as can frame themselues to a desire of well doing. 14

AN APOLOGY FOR THE GENE-

NERAL CAVSE OF REFORMATION, againſt the ſclanders of the Pope and the League.

THE II. TREATISE.

WE haue promiſed to feaſt our readers with diuers fruictes, and in part of performance thereof, haue hitherto ſet before them, onely Inſtructiue and Theologicall fruictes, It reſteth now that we preſent them with fruicts Politicke & admonitorie: therein addreſſing our diſcours to the King and the Clergie: & after ſpeaking of the Pope: & turning againe to the Catholicke people, we will alſo entreat of the Reformed Princes, againſt whom eſpecially the Pope hath addreſſed his ſclaunders: and then of the Miniſters and Reformed people.

The king hath promiſed, yea ſworne to driue all hereticks out of Fraunce. It is a good vowe that his Maieſtie hath made, onely the queſtion is to ſee who thoſe be. Now is it ſo that they be hereticks, which erre in the principles of faith, and ſo conſequently they which haue reuolted from the faith are the hereticks: The Pope maintaineth a doctrine contrarie to the Goſpell, which in expreſſe words by the mouth of S. Peter, yea and of Ieſus Chriſt him ſelfe doth forbid the vſurping of dominion ouer the Lordes inheritaunce, and the making of marchaundiſe of men, or mens ſoules, as the Reuelation calleth it: and therefore he is an hereticke, and in performance of the kinges vowe, ought to be driuen out of Fraunce: I ſay, driuen out of France, that is to ſay, his dominion driuen out of France.

It is alledged, that no hereticke ought to ſucceede to the crowne: To this article may the king of Nauarre well ſubſcribe, for in him is not to be founde any one ſpot of hereſie, but it is a ſclaunder of the Pope, who lendeth him this charitie, to the ende to weaken the partie of the Reformation and ſo to ſtrengthen the League ſo ſtrongly, that it may

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ouerrule both king and commons, and ſhut vp the king in ſome Couent of Charterhouſe Monkes, for to make one of the League, a creature of the Popes, and one of the king of Spaines Pēſioners, king: and through him to trouble the whole ſtate of Fraunce, and aboliſh the priuiledges of the French Church: For long hath the Pope longed to ſet in foot, and many a day hath he begun to moleſt the French kinges: now he ſhieldeth him ſelfe vnder pretence of Reformation: but where was Reformation at the warres of Millan, when the Popes did nothing but lay ſnares for the kinges of France, in the behalfe of the Emperour and king of Spaine? who ſo will peruſe the remembraunces of Bellay, ſhall therein finde examples enough: yea now albeit the cauſe of the Reformatiō were not, yet would he finde occaſions to trouble the kinges of France, and therefore it is an eaſie matter for him to finde that pretence, thereby the more cunningly to compaſſe his driftes. And had he euen ſet his foote vpon the kinges throate, yet were it no newes, for he hath done as much to the Emperour: or had he thruſt our king into ſome Monaſterie, yet ſhould he not be the firſt, either Emperour or King of Fraunce that the Popes haue couled.

Many times did I marueile why the Popes ſhould accuſe the Reformed Princes of hereſie, yea and all Reformation, but hauing read the 12. Chapter of the Reuelation, where it is ſaid that the Dragon and old Serpent, which is the deuill, doe accuſe our brethrē before God both day and night, I was reſolued: for it is not vnnaturall for the child to imitate his fathers actions.

The king hath bene counſailed to permit but one Religiō in France: the counſell is good, if it may be compaſſed by reaſon. There be two wayes to atchieue it, or at the leaſt to try it, for man purpoſeth, but God diſpoſeth. The firſt is the ſame, which the Turke vſeth in mainteining of Mahometes law, and that is the ſword: but this meanes is bloudy, cruell and doubtfull, for the blowes are to be deuided, and he is aſſured of winning nothing but ſtripes: yea and it is tyrannous, whereof we conclude that the king will neuer take that courſe, vnleſſe he be forced by the League, & worke tyrannie againſt him ſelfe. For this we know, that by nature he is no tyrāt; & ſo that if it come

to that paſſe, all Frenchmen in reaſon are to take armes to free the king from the tyrannie of the League. Alſo to take away a ſchiſme is to put out a fire with fire or with oyle: But fire is neuer quenched with fire, but with water: that is, the fire of ſchiſme muſt be quenched with the water of reaſon, which is ſtronger, and ſtandeth with more equitie then warre it ſelfe. The other meanes is ſure & may be performed without bloudſhed, yea it is a Chriſtian meane, grounded vpon reaſon, truth and godlyneſſe. It conſiſteth in reiecting the yoke of the Spaniſh Inquiſition and Councell of Trent, propounded by the League, & reſtoring the Catholicke Religion to the libertie of the Nicene Councell, free from the Pope and burthen of his ſuperſtitiõs. This courſe if the king would vndertake, we ſhould neuer neede to feare the League: for albeit the League and Clergie would cut of all the faction of Reformation, yet ſhould not Reformation quayle, for God vpholdeth it, and for proofe hereof, the experience of 30. yeares might ſuffiſe: But if the king and Clergy would fauour the cauſe of Reformation, the League would make no greater haſt then to hide it ſelfe. The Clergie may imagine, that this can not be done without their hurt and loſſe, in reſpect of diuers donations, made vpon ſome abuſe, or ſuperſtitions and vnlawfull vſe: hereto I aunſwere, that it is not neceſſarie, that, that which hath bene giuen to an vnlawfull entent, ſhould therefore be taken away, but rather conuerted to a better vſe, as were the 250. golden cenſers offered for a conſpiracie by Cores confederates, which were conuerted to a good vſe, viddl. to be turned into golden plates, to be layd vpon the Lordes altar. Num. 16. Euen ſo that hath bene giuen to pray for predeceſſours ſoules departed, may be conuerted to inſtructions for ſucceſſours ſuruiuers, or to pray to God for them: & ſo ſhould the Clergie encurre no loſſe. But if the Clergie will not be content with ſo manifeſt reaſon, but obſtinately bending againſt the truth, ſeeke our ſubuertion, we will leaue them to trye in vayne, how to root out Reformation and waſt their reuenues: for we know that in the end they ſhall be forced to come to it: God can well enough reclaime them, either of their owne accordes or by great puniſhments, and therfore let vs ſuffer them

to

to runne their race: for when they haue runne well, they muſt ſtay, and yeeld thereto.

When a man hath a ſute, it helpeth much to doe his whole endeuour, and to offer his aduerſarie all iuſt and reaſonable offers: for by that meanes he may bring his aduerſarie to reaſon and agreement, he alſo cutteth of all ſutes, or els conuinceth his enemy of frowardneſſe, and ſo iuſtifying his cauſe, enclineth the Iudge to fauoûr him. Euen ſo we knowing that we are to deale with the great Iudge which is God, alſo that we owe a duetie to our king doe ſeeke to finde out all meanes how to ſatisfie him with reaſon, and to turne away his wrath, which the Leaguers doe wrongfully kindle againſt vs, and therefore we offer to the Catholikes ſo much as in right, reaſon, and equitie we may, ſo as it is not our fault, and we doe waſh our handes of it before God: and thus they are to ſee that in contemning the iuſt motions that we make and propound, they diſdaine not vs, but the truth which is of God. For if they haue any harme, it is their owne fault, and God will not puniſh them but vpon euident & iuſt reaſon, for their contumacie, in that they would not obey his truth.

If a man inuiteth his friend to his table, & at dinner offereth him an apple to eate, and it chaunceth a worme to be therein, as ſometimes it happeneth, he will not vrge his friend to eate the worme with the apple, but will giue him leaue to take away the worme before he eate the apple, euen ſo now the Catholickes doe inuite vs to eate of the fruict of their Catholicke Religion, wherein lyeth a worme, which is the Popiſh ſuperſtitiõ, yea euen the Papacie it ſelfe, let them then take out the worme, or ſuffer vs to take it out, and then we will not refuſe to eate of that fruict that is offered.

Moreouer the Reformed Religion is no other but the auncient Catholicke, ſuch as it was from the time of the Apoſtles vnto the Nicene Councell, and differeth not frõ the Catholicke at this day, but in thinges contrary to Gods word, brought in ſince the ſaid Councell, as is the Popes domination, repugnant to the doctrine of the Goſpell, taught by the mouth of Ieſus Chriſt and S. Peter, which forbid the vſurping of dominatiõ o-

uer the Lordes inheritaunce, and of other the conſequences of the Papacie, as are the ſuperſtitions, which haue borne ſway ſince the ſaid Councell, and were brought in immediatly after the ſame, and ſince haue bene augmented and vpholden vnder the Papacie. I ſay, that if his Maieſtie would ſo greatly benefite his Realme, equitie would require that it might be done by the conſent of the Reformed plaintifs, being called and freely heard.

This one queſtion will I propound: why our Lord among his Apoſtles would not haue one greater then an other? alſo
*Luk.*22. 25 wherefore he hath expreſſely forbidden them to vſurpe domi-
*Mat.*20.25 nion, whereto I aunſwere, that his intent was, they ſhould be ſubiect to Ciuill dominiõ, as the Prieſthood of Aaron was ſubiect to the Iudiciall ſeate of Moſes. And wherefore? We know that ſomtime there fall out ſuperſtitiõs, which are to be Refor-
4.*King*.18. med in the Church, as was that of the braſen ſerpent in the time
4. of Ezechias, and Idolatries in the dayes of Ioſias, and ſuch if the
4.*King*.23. kinges doe ſuffer, the Lord will call them to accompt for them, and making them accomptable, it is alſo reaſon he ſhould giue them power to correct, and that this power ſhould not be in ſubiection to the Biſhops. So did Ezechias and Ioſias bring into the Church of Iſraell, ſuch a Reformation as we craue in Fraunce, neither therein depended they vpon the high Prieſts, but as hauing dominion, commaundeth the high Prieſtes to breake the Idols, and to purge the Temple, neither needed they to call any Councell for the determining of thoſe matters, but did with all ſpeede ſet hand to that buſineſſe, to the end to take away the euill, ſo ſoone as they knew of it. But at this day the Kings and Princes of Europe, in ſtead of mainteining their authoritie which God hath giuen them, doe referre them ſelues to the Pope, and the Pope to the Councell of Trent, which hath rather empaired then amẽded their affaires. Thus do they as it were ſeeke Phiſicke after a man is dead. And the contempt of the Priuiledges which God hath giuen them, hath brought their Realmes and dominions into trouble, namely Fraunce, where as had the king mainteined the authoritie which Ieſus Chriſt attributeth to kings, and following the example of Ezechias

chias,had Reformed the ſuperſtitions of the Church,his kingdome had bene in peace:yea had he employed the forces,which the League hath employed againſt him ſelfe,in the recouerie of thoſe countreis, which his predeceſſours haue loſt, he might haue recouered them, or obteined a new crowne. Thus much more will I alſo ſay, that in caſe his Maieſtie would vndertake the cõpaſſing of that which we propound, he ſhould not neede to feare the threates of the League, which how loude ſo euer it ſpeake,ſhould ſoone be glad to ſay litle,yea and thoſe that now dare face his Maieſtie,ſhould ſcarſe find dẽnes enough wherein to hide thẽ ſelues.There is nothing to hinder the king,following the courſe of this aduiſe, from atchieuing by reaſon, that, which if he labour to cõquere by the ſword, he will with great difficultie bring to paſſe: And ſurely he hath but bad counſell, that will put him ſelfe into bondage whẽ he may go free. Ieſus Chriſt freeth our kings from the Popes yoke,& ſubmitteth thẽ to him ſelfe onely: they will not be tributaries to the Emperour,& yet ſtoope to his creature.Such as are in bondage ſeeke to purchaſe libertie,but our kings buy bõdage,yea and that very dearely: ſome with great treaſures, that are tranſported to Rome: other with much bloudſhed of their ſubiectes, deſtruction of their countreis,& trouble of their eſtates:for the Popes haue troubled many Kinges and Emperours, againſt whom they haue bent themſelues, euen to the treading vpon their throates,and vttering contumelious ſpeaches,comparing them to Dragons, Aſpics and Baſillickes: others they moleſt by ſtirring vp their neighbours againſt them: and others haue bought their bondage with the price of their ſcepters and crownes, whom the Popes haue ſhut vp into Cloiſters and depoſed from their thrones: neither haue the kinges onely,but alſo all France bought this bondage very deare, and with much bloudſhed. O France thou art named France of thy freedõme: but thou ſhalt neuer be free vntill thou freeſt thy ſelfe from the yoke of the ſclaue of ſclaues, who keepeth thee bound in the bondage of conſcience and perpetuall trouble of thine eſtate.

Pope Gregorie ſought to make his Papacie famous by the correction of the Kalẽder,wherein he forgat that which ſhould

be the principall in a Kalender, which is to make it begin with an Equinoctiall or a Solstice: but admit he did very well, yet was this correction a matter of small importance in respect of the correction of such superstitions, as trouble the whole state of Christendome at this day: whereupon I say, that the king might make a farre more famous and necessarie correction, videl. by correcting the superstitiōs that are repugnant both to the conscience & estate & so celebrate the memory of his kingdome, with a farre more excellēt Character then Pope Gregory hath done, yea and that after the imitation of those, that haue bene better qualified in Gods word, then euer was Pope Gregorie, namely Ezechias and Iosias, who were the Reformers of the Church, Manasses also though first a deformer, yet after also Reformer likewise. S. Paule in the beginning a persecuter and destroyer of the Church, yet after a builder of the same, and still it lyeth in Gods power to raise vp such. The League weeneth to haue brought the king to that stay, as to set foote vpon his throat, by laying of snares for him at Paris, and driuing his faithfullest seruaunts from about him. They thinke to make their accompt to doe all that they may, say all that they dare, and imagine all that they lust: but all are not out of hart, that doe dissemble. The League purposed to muffle vp the French, with the Spanish Inquisition: but the Frenchmens neckes are not fit for such a yoke. The French naturally and for the most part hath his harte at his tongues end, that is to say, is open, free and without colour, not being a double harted person, neither hipocrite nor dissembler, as be they that suffer the Inquisition to bridle them. Wherefore it is a fit meanes to leade the League to a downfall, and to conuert the Papacie into a Popedome abolished.

The Popes purpose in deuising the League, was no other but to make a metamorphose of our king, euē a more reall metamorphose then the transubstantiation, in cōuerting him frō a Hieronimite King, into a Charterhouse Mōke sometime king. I know the king is a great Catholicke, yet thinke I not that he so loueth the Pope & his superstitions, that therefore he would change his Crowne for a Charterhouse Monkes coule.

As

As for the Clergy, it is no marueile though they would maintein their eſtate, for it is a thing naturall: neither would the Nobilitie vpon neceſſitie doe leſſe for theirs: I will not be a ſharper cenſurer of their eſtate, thē Chriſt was of the Phariſies: But alas how lamentable is the wretchednesſe of thoſe that vphold ſuperſtition, and perſecute ſuch as will not obey the ſame? Let them thinke vpon their buſineſſe, it is no ſmall matter to become Gods enemie: for who ſoeuer oppreſſeth the conſciences, ſubmitting them to a yoke repugnant to Gods word, maketh him ſelfe an enemie to God. And truly they might mainteine their eſtate, albeit they abandoned ſuperſtition, yea and obteine the priuiledge of mariage, which at this day is no ſmall matter in France, in reſpect of the numbers of men ſlaine in the warres, and the quantitie of rich enheritrixes left: as well widowes as maydens. I marueile alſo what reaſon they haue to withſtand Reformation, which conteineth nothing repugnant to their eſtate, neither any thing that is not commodious for them, and choſe rather to cleaue to the Popes, the auncient ſecret enemies to the kinges of Fraunce and the French Clergie, who vpon hatred to the French Clergie, haue made a Decree at Rome, that there ſhall neuer be created Pope of the French Nation, and that hatred haue they alwayes ſhewed againſt the French kinges ſo oft as oportunitie would ſerue, not in wordes onely but alſo in deeds. But moſt of all I maruell why the Clergy haue entred the League, to make warre at their owne charge againſt Reformatiō: herein hath the Pope played the Clergie as braue a tricke of a Phariſie as euer man did: for he hath loaden them with a great burthen, whereto him ſelfe would not ſet his finger: & ſo farre is he from entering into any charges thereof, that he hath euen waſhed his handes of all. In like maner hath he alſo brought the king of Spaine into great charges, about the building vp of this ſea monſter his nauall armie: promiſing him a million of gold, ſo ſoone as his power ſhould ſet foote in England, and this million of gold could he well enough wreſt from the poore by his Bulles and Pardons: but when the king of Spaines Ambaſſadour came to demaunde this ſumme, his aunſwere was, that he would not deliuer it before the army had

ſet foot on land,ſo that notwithſtanding what ſoeuer the Ambaſſadors earneſtnes,he could obteine nothing,for he told him, that this money which had bene giuē for the poore, ought not ſo lightly to be parted withal:albeit ſince he could employ part of the ſame,namely 150000 l. crownes vpon the purchaſe of a Marquiſate for his nephew. This is a cunning player at the Bohemiās game,yet looketh he not whether he be within or without,al is one to him ſo that he may get,but in getting he forgetteth nothing.Now in your opinion,if he thus mocketh the king of Spaine his eldeſt ſonne,and the chief piller of his houſe,what will he doe to theſe,whom he hateth of old? will he ſpare them, or hurt him ſelfe to doe them good ? And the League is it any better for the Clergie,then for him,ſith the Clergie muſt rather beare the charges then he ? No, it is more for the Pope: for it worketh for the ſtate of the Pope, not for the ſtate of the Clergy,conſidering that Reformation cōtrarieth the Popes eſtate & not the Clergies, but the Pope is not content with making the Clergie ſpend their reuenues, but withall he forceth them to ſell their demaines, a matter neuer accuſtomed before. The auncient kings of Iuda in time paſt, did rather ſell the veſſell of the Lordes houſe, then medle with the Clergie, but the Pope had rather make them not onely to conſume their reuenues,but alſo to ſell temporalties,then to employ the Images and ſuperſtitious Reliques erected contrary to the word of God: ſo deare vnto him is that that God hateth,and ſo much doth he cōtemne that which God hath ordeined. Beſides the Clergie may ſee, how being once burthened with theſe charges,the king hauing begun to leauie the tenthes, hath ſince continued the exacting of them: In the beginning they thought they ſhould be leuied but for one yeare, and ſo to ceaſe, but ſince they haue bene brought into a cuſtome, and thereof it is come, that the Clergie conceaued an imagination that this exaction would neuer ceaſe,without the rooting out of all ſeekers of Reformation:and thereupon they conſented to the League,ſo to get out at once:and in the meane time haue ſold their demaines,and yet muſt neuertheleſſe pay their tenthes: all which notwithſtanding Reformation is neuer the more rooted out: beſides that, albeit

2. *King.* 16. 8. *and* 18. 16.

albeit it were rooted out, this ſubſidie would neuertheſſe be leuied, vnder colour of preſeruing the Church from like inconueniences. Neither is there any remedy whereby to eſchue this conſequence; but by taking part againſt the League, which doth exact theſe reuenues: that is, by declaring them ſelues ſeruauntes to the king, and enemies to the League, and taking to the ſupport of their eſtate, ſuch perſons as regard not the Pope, who hath layd this burthen vpon them. Moreouer I doubt not but the Clergie are faithfull to the King, but neuertheleſſe the League is a cõſpiracie of the Pope againſt the crowne of Fraunce: but all that are of the League, are not of the cõſpiracie, neither do they vnderſtand the purpoſe thereof: and the Pope made it not to Reforme the time of Philip the Faire, when he cauſed the kinges owne children to conſpire againſt their father: but it is an old practiſe of the Popes, to ſhuffle the French kinges cardes, and to ſeeke reuenge of the Pragmaticall Sanction, as well againſt the king as againſt the Clergie, but he is glad to take the cauſe of Reformation for a cloake, to the end vnder pretence thereof, to doe that which otherwiſe would be very hard for him to doe.

But I pray yon, what cauſe haue they to obey a forrein Franciſcan Frier, rather then ſome one of the French Clergie? For the Pope hath bene a poore Mõkiſh deuill, that hath caſt his coate to catch the Papacie, and would now gladly vncrowne the king to make him a Monke. There be amõg the French Clergy many Princes, Lordes and men of accompt, whom we might better obey then a Franciſcane at Rome: howbeit if we muſt needs obey a Franciſcan, are there not enough in Fraunce, that do better deſerue it then he, who was neuer created Pope but vpon fauour, rather then the worthineſſe in him? But in caſe a Romiſh Franciſcan were fitter to gouerne the French Clergie; yet were it requiſite he were brought into France, ſo to ſpare both labour and coſt, and to be nearer his flocke, for it is neuer the propertie of a good ſhepheard, to lye farre from his fold: but now a dayes we make ſuch ſhepheardes, as doe neuer viſite their flockes, yea that neuer ſee the flockes, that they entitle them ſelues ſhepheardes of.

To the end to ſhip the Clergy in the League, they were perſwaded, that within ſix moneths the Reformatiō ſhould be vtterly extinguiſhed, & now there haue paſſed aboue foure times 12. and they yet neuer the nearer, ſauing in multiplying of expenſes, they haue but ſet forward their owne deſtruction, and, yet are they to take new deliberations. I wonder they know not that it is in vayne to ſtriue againſt God. There is no coūſell againſt God that can preuaile, well may they make many meetinges, either of Synodes or Eſtates: but if they enter any counſell againſt God, he will ſcatter them, yea albeit they hide themſelues, yet are they not hidden from him. Let the Clergie acc̄opt all the charges they haue bene at, and the purchaſes by the League returned to the profite of the Clergie: & then let them come to ſubſtraction, ſo I am aſſured they ſhall finde that the Clergie hath ſcattered, rather then multiplied, ſo as the remainders being put to intereſt, will neuer bring them any profite, neither yet augment their reuenues: let them recken what goodes they haue ſold, and what rentes they haue conſumed, and they ſhall finde that they doe amount to more then that that hath bene ſold from the Reformed, yet ſhall the Reformed in the end recouer theirs againe, but ſo ſhall not the Clergie.

As for the Cardinall of Bourbon, it were better for him to ſhoot at the ſoueraigne Biſhopricke in Frāce, thē at the crown, & to practiſe the ſucceſſion of the Crowne for his nephew the king of Nauarre, yet not by a League or conſpiracie againſt the king. So might he erect two good pillers to beare vp his houſe: & this might he doe without ſtirring vp ſuch Tragedies, as are now ſeene in Fraunce: as alſo the eſtate of a ſoueraigne Biſhoprick might more eaſily be giuē him, in reſpect that already he is one of the chief Princes of the bloud, and both Primate and Peere of France, beſides that he ſhould aſpire to that, which ſtādeth with the vocation of his Prieſthood, which alſo he might enioy during the kings life: for it may be the king ſhall outliue him, neither will it become him to renounce his Prieſthood, wherein he hath kept him ſelfe vnto his old age: as alſo he may thinke, that ſuch as promiſe him the crowne, vſing his pretence to the ouerthrow of his familie, do well know that charitie beginneth

ginneth of it ſelfe, alſo that there is no man, hauing meanes to diſpoſe of the crowne, but will ſet it vpon his owne head rather then on a Prieſtes. Beſides in as much as there are ſome whoſe promiſes, giftes and ſuccours may be ſuſpected, he can not but ſpeede well in following the Apoſtles counſaile, which is, that euery man walke in his vocation whereto he is called: he is called to the Prieſthood, let him then ſo continue, and let him that can not be Moſes be content to be Aaron. 1. Cor. 7. 20

I haue before noted for a fault in the Reformed, that they haue not made ſufficiēt offer to the Clergie, of the enioying of their rightes vnder the Reformation, which is true: but it hath bene a greater fault in the Clergie, to imagine that Reformation would take from them all that it offereth not. It is moſt certaine that this foreiudgement hath more hindered the cauſe of Reformation, thē the armes of the Leaguers. For the League began to worke her effectes but in theſe laſt troubles, where this foreiudgemēt hath bene an auncient ſtombling blocke of old in the way of Reformation, neither had the Clergie euer bent them ſelues ſo ſore againſt it as they haue done, had not that bene: howbeit it is no foreiudgement giuen, but taken, yea and by the Clergie taken out of ſeaſon, without ſufficient cauſe giuē by the Reformatiō, on whoſe ſide there was no other fault, but a treſpaſſe cōmitted for want of aduiſement, by vncircumſpectiō & miſtaking, neither was there any offence at all, but by taking the matter ouer ſharpely & indirectly, conſidering that the Reformation neuer attempted any thing againſt the Clergie, but the Clergie againſt the Reformation in all the warres, namely in the laſt: wherein contrarywiſe the king of Nauarre hath euidently ſhewed, that he had no quarell to the Clergie, in that he hath hitherto forborne the Clergie, albeit they entered into the League againſt him. In deede I ſay, that they of the Reformation might haue offered the Clergie thoſe things that I ſet downe, yea and haue procured and craued them, when they laboured to haue the chambers deuided for the deciſion of proceſſe. But this is no ſufficient cauſe to kindle ſuch a ſchiſme as the Pope hath raiſed. For I accōpt him the cauſe of this miſchief & foreiudgement, becauſe he alwayes mingled the Cler-

gies cauſe with his owne, perſwading the Clergie men that it generally concerned all their eſtates, and herein haue the Clergie bene to blame, that they neuer ſought out the ground of this controuerſie: for had they ſought neuer ſo litle, they had found that their eſtate was not in queſtion, but the ſuperſtitiõs, which had they taken away, they had ended all ſchiſme. Whereupon we perceauing the Popes ſubteltie, who ſeeketh to make the Reformation odious to the Clergie, by perſwading them that Reformation will ouerthrow their eſtate, doe raiſe vp a ſhield againſt that ſhaft, that is, by deuiding the Clergies cauſe from the Popes, and prouing that Reformation doth not contrarie the eſtate of the Clergie: beſides, taking the ſame ſhaft, we returne it into the ſtanckes of the beaſt, by prouing that the Reformatiõ ſhooteth at the Papacie, as being enemy to the Popes eſtate, becauſe he is the beaſt mentioned in the Reuelatiõ, which hath made warre againſt the Saincts, and being wounded to the death, ſhall alſo be healed againe, as he hath bene already wounded to the death by the doctrine of the Martirs, and healed againe for a time: but being now broken out againe, he can neuer be cured, and it can not be but deadly and paſt cure.

3 For I ſay of the Pope, that his eſtate is pernitious as well to the conſcience as to the ſtate: It was brought in by guile, it is encreaſed by bribery, and it is vpholden by tyrannie and turmoiles, as tyranniſing the conſciences, and troubling the whole ſtate of Europe. He hath mainteined the ſuperſtitions, of Reliques, Images, Inuocation of Saincts, Purgatorie, vowed chaſtitie and ſuch like, and the ſame will breed his deſtruction. I confeſſe that Gods word admitteth Eccleſiaſticall dignities, euẽ to the ſoueraignetie after the order of Iethro, but it admitteth not any domination of an vniuerſall Biſhop: neuertheleſſe if there were no controuerſie but the degree, yea and albeit there were ſome abuſes, yet might it be borne: but ſeing it mainteineth ſuch ſuperſtitiõs, as are directly repugnant to Gods word, & for the ſame tyrãniſeth the faithfull, it can not be borne: neither can we doe better, then to abandon it as the enemy to Chriſt and his truth, yet doe I ſay, that albeit he will renounce all ſuperſtitions, yet ought not the faithfull to be bound to obey him: for

no

no man can lay vpō the faithfull the yoke which the Lord hath not layd vpon them: but I ſay that this degree were more tolerable, then the ſuperſtitions which are the doctrines of deuls.

But to omit all matter of Religion and conſcience, and to come to the ſtate: wherefore ſerueth the Papacie but to trouble the ſtate of Kings & Princes? It hath put the King of Spaine to great charges, and made him buy a reproch very deare: It hath made him to arme him ſelfe to take a fall, and to ſtoope vnder a womans arme. It maketh him to mainteine an Inquiſition, which is but a Popiſh tyranny, and can not but breed his deſtruction. But what good hath he done in Fraunce, in cauſing the ſubiectes to enter League againſt their king, yea and arming the king againſt him ſelfe? for by deſtroying his Reformed ſubiectes, what doth he deſtroy but him ſelfe? And had the king employed thoſe forces againſt others, that he hath employed againſt him ſelfe, he might with honour haue purchaſed an other kingdome as great as his owne, and now haue bene at peace, where he is ſtill in trouble. I ſay that the king hath ſeemed to fight againſt him ſelfe: but not properly the king him ſelfe, but the League. For the king is a good Prince, but the League hath againſt his will wrought matters to his hinderance. Againe for what ſerueth the Papacie in Fraunce, but to ſuck vp her treaſures? Fraunce would not be tributarie to the Emperour, yet doth ſhe pay tribute to the Empire in the Popes perſon, who is but a creature of the Empire. Vpon what reaſon are rſien to goe to Rome to decide Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, as if in France there were no man capable of ſuch deciſions? If thoſe of Rome be better, why cauſe we them not to come into Fraunce, but muſt ſtill be at new charges to goe to Rome?

Nay why be not our Parliaments alſo trāſlated frō France to Rome? peraduenture the Romaines may be more capable to decide Ciuill cauſes then the Frenchmē: or ſith the Pope hath the honor to decide the Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, we might giue the Emperour the deciding of the Ciuill: but if the French be skilfull enough to decide Ciuill matters, they cā wel enough ſhift with Eccleſiaſticall if neede require. But what doth the Papacie for the French Clergie, but ouerthrow them: by making them ſell

their temporalties & waſt their reuenues to enrich the League, ſtaruing them ſelues in vayne about rooting out the Reformation? The Clergie warreth vpon me as a profeſſour of Reformation, but I pitie them, ſeing how the Pope entangleth them, and the League deuoureth them to the very bones. How long is it ſince Chriſtes Vicar became a Turke, to ſeeke to mainteine his Religion by the ſword? And of all theſe fooliſh driftes the people ſmarteth moſt, by encurring infinite loſſes and ouerthrowes, vpon a fooliſh fanſie that the Pope hath taken to ouerthrow Reformation with the ſword. I pray you if Reformation ſhould haue bene ouerthrowen with the ſword, could one handfull of people haue ſtood theſe 28. yeares in Fraunce? could they yet haue borne out, if God had not holden them vp, conſidering how oft they haue bene aſſaulted, and as oft circumuented? But who euer went about to roote out Reformation once planted in his countrie, and hath not laboured in vayne? Onely the Prince of Parma, who thinketh to haue floriſhed iolily in the Low Countries, but euery bloſſome becommeth not fruict, neither will his ſtalke make any ſheffe wherewith to enrich the garner. Two thinges will ouerthrow him. The one for that he hath baniſhed Reformation: the other becauſe he hath hardly entreated the Catholickes, by deſtroying their country & boores, as propounding this marke & principle, that better is a waſt country thē a loſt, yet ſhall we ſee him leaue that which he hath gotten, yea & glad if he ſcape with his skinne. This is a puniſhment that God hath inflicted vpon Spaine, for perſecuting the faithfull with the Inquiſition: that ſhe might haue bene rich with the ſpoiles of the Indiās, had ſhe not waſted them vpon the moleſting of the Low Countryes.

If the kinges Parliaments were entangled in the Emperours handes, he would employ all his power to recouer them, and his Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction being ſnared in the Popes hand, he laboureth not to recouer it, the cauſe whereof ſeemeth to be onely becauſe the ſetting them free may coſt him nothing: for he neede doe no more but forſake the Pope as the Engliſh & Dutch haue done, neither ſhall he be able to opē his mouth and aske, why doe you ſo?

True

True it is that the Popes eſtate is hurtfull and ruinous, but it is not hurtfull to any but to thoſe that be his partakers. It is hurtfull to the king of Spaine, in putting him to great charges and fooliſh expenſes for nothing: and to Fraunce in ſetting the whole ſtate in trouble. But what harme hath it done to England, to the Reformed partes of Germanie, or to Suitzerland? it hath ſpit his venome but vpon his owne faction: forſake him, and he can hurt you no more.

True it is, that at this time it ſeemeth hard to forſake the Pope, becauſe of the power of the League: but giue ouer the League, and let the King and Clergie abandon it, and you ſhall ſoone ſee both League & Papacy come to naught. And I know though it ſtay a while, that this will be the end of the game: when all is done, the League muſt vnleague it ſelfe, and it will neuer vnleague it ſelfe but with the Popes deſtruction.

The Popes combat againſt the light of the Goſpell, witneſſed by the Martirs and Reformed, hath reſembled the battell betweene the moth & the candle, which burneth firſt her winges, and then her feete, ſo as ſhe can not leaue the game before ſhe be wholy burnt. So hath the Pope ſinged his winges in England, Germanie and Suitzerland, and can not but continue the game by the League, vntill the whole body of the Papacie be burned: you would ſay that the Pope and the moth are both ſprong out of one double yolked egge, they doe ſo reſemble in their fight. Thus much I will ſay, that when the Martirs complained of the ſuperſtitions, if the Pope had had any care to ſatisfie their complaintes, his kingdome might haue continued: But he perſecuted them, and ſo loſt his credit in the places aforenamed: yea now had the remnant of his kingdome bene peaceable had he not ſtirred vp the League: he thought by the League to cõfound Reformation, and vndoubtedly it will be his deſtruction. For the Chriſtian kinges ſhall therby perceaue, that he is a fiſher for Eeles, who ſeeketh to fiſh onely in pudle water, and can not forbeare troubling the whole eſtate of Europe. France ſhall know by experience that which the Reformed could neuer with all the eloquence of Demoſthenes and Cicero haue perſwaded, that is, that the Popes eſtate

is ruinous to the people in making them in vayne to waſt the money, goods, & perſons both of the Clergie & people, not caring for others daũgers, ſo as he may bring his purpoſe to paſſe: and this foreiudgemẽt can not but at lẽgth procure the Popes ouerthrow, which he hath found in thinking to ouerthrow Reformation, neither is there Pope, Emperour or King that ſeeketh the deſtruction of the truth, but deſtroyeth him ſelfe. If kinges could well conſider this point, they would neuer make ſuch haſt with their owne harmes to bend thẽ ſelues againſt the truth: which if euer it tooke place, it is now in this periode wherein Ieſus Chriſt will raigne, and deſtroy euery kingdome that ſhall withſtand him, which is a ſong quite repugnant to the League. Hitherto it hath ſeemed that to get dominion they neede no more but turne their backes to Chriſt: but now the caſe doth alter.

But is not this wonderfull, that ſo ſoone as Ieſus Chriſt ſhewed him ſelfe to be the Lambe that ſhould take away the ſinnes of the world, the Wolues with their gluttonous nature haue come to deuoure him, and at their approch haue founde him to haue the pawes of a Lyon as being the Lyon of Iuda? What may this meane, if he be a Lambe, how cõmeth it to paſſe, that he hath the pawes of a Lyon, or if he be a Lyon, why beareth he the ſhape of a Lambe? O my friend, he is a Lambe, yet armed with the Lyons pawes, to rent in peeces the wolues that would deuour him.

Well, let vs a litle more nearely conſider the Popes goodly effectes: he hath armed him ſelfe with the Councell of Trent, as with a Trident or 3. tyned forke to play Neptune & to commaund the waters. He hath ſhipped his Trident in the Spaniſh Galiaſſes: the South winde would not acknowledge this new Neptune, but ſcattered his Galiaſſes and brake his Trident, ſo as he hath but the handle left: that would he now make a ſcepter, wherewith to play Iupiter vpon earth in Fraunce, ſeing he could not compaſſe to be a Neptune vpon the ſea. But his Tridents handle is no longer fit for ought but to make a hatchet ſteale, wherewith to hew out a chariot to march in more magnificently, but this chariot will proue Phaetons

chariot,

chariot, and ſhortly vtterly ouerthrow his holyneſſe.

The League likewiſe will be I ſay, the deſtruction of both Pope and Papacie, which I will proue by two reaſons: one becauſe thereby the Kinges, Clergie and Commons may to their coſtes learne the hurte that they take by the Popes yoke: and experience teacheth thoſe thinges, which Rhetoricke was neuer able to perſwade. An other, becauſe the effectes of the League haue hitherto bene very vayne and vnprofitable, and will be hereafter, ſo as finally the League muſt breake without working any effect, and it can not breake but with the Popes ruine.

But who will hereafter giue eare to the Popes Councels, knowing them to be ſo pernitious, as by this League they doe appeare? In it hath he deceaued him ſelfe, by employing his coyne vpon the purchaſe of his owne deſtruction: for it is moſt certaine, that the breaking vp of the League is the Popes ouerthrow, & it will not be lōg before he ſhall ſtand in neede of the peeces therof. He hath alſo deceaued the Leaguers by procuring them to make great leuies, wherewith to purchaſe mightie diſgraces for nothing. He hath deceaued the Cardinall of Bourbō, by feeding him with a vayne hope of the crowne of France, albeit he purpoſed to beſtow the Crowne vpō a more factious perſon then he, he deceaued the king, in labouring him to roote out the Reformation, to the end afterward with more eaſe and without controllmēt to lay hands vpō him ſelfe, and ſend him into ſome Monaſterie, & ſo to ſubſtitute an other at his deuotiō. And he hath deceaued the Clergy, by cauſing them to waſt both demaines & reuenues in vayne, and finally he hath beguiled the people, in bringing them into great calamities of warre, promiſing them peace, & performing nothing but warre. But the Reformed could he not deceaued, for they truſted him not. To be brief he hath deceaued but him ſelf, & thoſe that are his. But who cā imagine that God will bleſſe the Popes cauſe, who termeth him ſelfe Chriſtes Vicare, and yet fighteth with fraude and perfidie, with treaſon and poyſon, to vphold ſuperſtitions againſt pietie, falſhood againſt truth, and the doctrine which S. Paule termeth the doctrine of deuils, againſt the pure and

ſound doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt?

Moſt certaine it is, that the League is a conſpiracie of the Pope againſt the crowne and ſtate of Fraunce: alſo that the Popes haue ſtill euen of old, practiſed to be reuenged, as well of the French Kinges, as of the Clergie for the Pragmaticall Sanction, and of long time haue caſt with themſelues, how to ſubdue the Clergie to their domination, as being very ſorie that they can not atchieue their purpoſe, and now are glad to make Reformation an argument or pretence, whereby to bring their driftes to ſome iſſue: and therefore the Pope exerciſeth the king, in procuring him to labour the rooting out of Reformation, which is a double weakening of the king. For thoſe whō the Reformed in their defences haue ſlaine, hath the king loſt, and the forces of the Reformed, which might greatly ſtrēgthē him, are thereby alſo made vnprofitable, yea euē hurtfull vnto him. After all this doth the Pope cauſe the League to giue the king a ſpurne with the footein *Salluce*, to the end that way alſo to exerciſe him, and there to employ the reſt of his forces: that the kings ſide being thus weakened & the ſtrength of the League comming on on the other ſide, they may be aſſured to doe with him what they liſt. Let the King, the Clergie and all Fraunce hardly thinke vpon this point: it is of no ſmall conſequēce: it importeth but euē the whole ſtate of France. For my part I will tell you what I thinke: all ſhall be as others liſt: yet am I aſſured, that the ſucceſſe of things will ſhewe the right of mine aduiſe, & wiſe men will allow thereof. Vnder correctiō I ſay, the king may herein imitate Neptune when he commandeth the windes in Virgill. *Quos ego, ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus*. That is, he may firſt appeaſe all Ciuill warres among his owne, and then vſe his owne againſt ſtraungers. A great rope is ordinarily ſtrōg, but deuide it into three or foure ſmall cordes, and you may eaſily breake it, euen ſo is it with the Pope: he knoweth the whole power of France to be ſtrong, & therefore ſeeketh to diſunite and ſeuer them, and to diſperſe them into foure or fiue factions. One of the Reformed, an other of their cōtraries, an other the aduerſaries to *Salluces*, the fourth the League, & the fifth the King, which doe withſtand thē: but

the

the King may reunite to him ſelfe all his ſubiectes, in his owne defence againſt ſtrangers: and withall ſoone recouer all that the League hath vſurped, and ſo haue his reuenge for the game. Thus may the king, if he pleaſe, ſee whether it is better for him to fauour the Reformed, who are his faithfull ſeruaunts, or the the Pope that is his ſecret enemie.

Moreouer, I ſay that the League is a Popiſh conſpiracie againſt the Crowne and ſtate of Fraunce, yet will I not ſay, that all thoſe of the League be conſpirators: for I am well aſſured there be many good men vnder the League, who if they wiſt that the Pope had conſpired againſt the King, would renounce both Pope and League, and be the firſt oppugners of the Papacie. Others there are alſo, which will waxe cold, whē they ſee the League of ſo ſmall effect, or the caſe alter, as vndoubtedly it will, or elſe if they ſee the king determine to be maiſter: ſo as it ſeemeth that no mā may well be adiudged a cōſpirator againſt the king, in fauour of the League, before his Maieſtie hath likewiſe declared, that he taketh the League to be a conſpiracie againſt him ſelfe, and withall do preſcribe a time for them to depart it, within the which who ſo ſhall not renounce it, but cōtinue therein, ſhall be holden cōſpirators againſt the crowne and ſtate of Fraunce: and withall pardon all ſuch as ſhall depart therefrom.

It were alſo requiſite (vnder correction) that the Clergie ſhould denounce the Pope a ſchiſmatike, for ſetting diuiſion in the ſtate, and therefore that his Maieſtie, proſecuting the ſteps of his auncеſters & predeceſſors Kings of Fraunce, ſhould make declaration of his intent, to vphold and maintaine the French Church in her auncient priuileges, together with the Pragmaticall Sanction, amplifying the ſame, and proclaiming the ſame French Church, free from the Popes yoke and all conſequences of Popery. To the performing wherof, that his Maieſtie ſhould alſo create one ſoueraigne Biſhop in Fraunce. Withall his Maieſtie might maintaine the Catholique religion, howbeit vnder the libertie of the French Church, not vnder the Popes yoke, who contrariwiſe ſhould be denounced in reſpect of his ſecret malice, an enemie to Fraunce: beſides his Maieſtie ſhould de-

clare him ſelfe the maintainer of Catholique religion, vnder the libertie of Gods law, and of the primitiue Church, and Councell of Nice. This, if it might pleaſe the King to do, the ſtate of Fraunce would be appeaſed and ſtrengthened, and the Pope aſtonied, and the League ſet beſide the ſadle, ſo as malgre all her endeuors, ſhe ſhould be glad to quaile, and ſo be driuen to vomit vp againe, all that ſhe hath deuoured: yea how lowd ſo euer ſhe be, it would not be long but ſhe would ſing a lower note. Neither wil I feare to auow (let others thinke and perſwade thē ſelues the contrary if they liſt) that the King and Clergie muſt now of the two wayes, chooſe one, that is, either to put themſelues in the Popes mercie, or to renounce the Papacie. Now if he put him ſelfe in the Popes mercie, their humanitie may be well enough knowen, by the curteſie that the Pope ſhewed to *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, who referring him ſelfe to his mercie, kneeled to him, while *Alexander 1111.* then Pope, with opprobrious ſpeeches, ſet his foote vpon his throate: and nowe if the King ſhould do the like, the Pope would not put his foote vpon his throat, but a Monkes coule ouer his head, wherewith he hath bene long deſirous to hood him: or perhaps he might eſcape ſomewhat better cheape, if he eſcaped as *Frances Dandalus* Duke of Venice, did eſcape the excommunications of *Clement V.* which was by creeping through the hall vpon all fower with a halter about his necke. For the Emperour *Lewes 1111.* cried Pope *Iohn XXII.* mercie, and asked him forgiueneſſe, which notwithſtanding, the Pope kept him priſoner in a chamber three yeares, where in the ende he dyed miſerably.

Suppl. Chron.

But now let vs ſee what the Popes excommunications are: they are but conſpiracies againſt princes, as appeareth by the excommunication of Pope *Cregorie VII.* who excommunicated the Emperour *Henrie 1111.* & gaue the Imperiall Crowne to *Rodolph* Duke of Sueuia, who died in the performance of the Popes conſpiracie. And as for the Popes wickedneſſe, it appeareth, in that by a Councell holden at Wormes, and another at Baſill, an. 1085. he was depoſed from his Papacie, as a ſacrilegious perſon, and diſturber of the Empire. It is alſo to be noted, that this *Gregorie* procured the Saxons to reuolt againſt the Emperour,

rour, and alienated his ſubiects from him, yea euen his owne mother. *Paſcal II.* made *Henrie V.* to rebell againſt his father, whom he kept priſoner in his towne of Liege, where he cauſed him to be ſo hardly intreated, that he died, neither would the ſayd *Paſcal* ſuffer him to be buried. Yet is it to be thought, that he had no better ground then his predeceſſor, who for the like doings was depoſed from his Papacie. What greater impietie can any man deſire then this of the Popes, who ſet the mother at debate with the Emperour her ſonne, & armed the children againſt the Emperours their fathers? Likewiſe Pope *Gregorie* the fourth cauſed the childrē of *Lewes* the Meeke ſo to cōſpire againſt their father that they deteined him three yeares in a Cloiſter, euē vntill that the French Nobilitie and Clergy withſtanding them, reſtored him and cauſed the children to aske their father forgiueneſſe. As much would the Pope now doe to our King, but I hope our Nobilitie and Clergie withſtāding will not permit it.

The vanitie of theſe excommunications and cōdemnations alſo appeareth in that one Pope or Councell releaſeth them whom an other hath excommunicated, and not onely ſo, but alſo that ſome one Pope excommunicateth, releaſeth & againe reexcōmunicateth ſome one Emperour, as appeareth by *Fredericke* the ſecond, who was excommunicated, releaſed & reexcōmunicated thriſe: And, which is moſt of all to be noted, Pope *Adrian* the fourth being corrupted with money giuen by *William* king of Sicill, & the Milaners & other eſtates of Italie, excommunicated the Emperour *Fredericke Barbaroſſa:* Thus are the Popes excommunications againſt Princes as ſaleable in the Popes ſhoppe, as the pardons. But what greater trecherie can we wiſh, then was that of Pope *Alexander*, who excommunicated the Emperour *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, to the end to arme him againſt the Turkes, and the whileſt ſent his liuely picture and letters to the Turke, to procure him to be taken? Afterward the Emperour ſeeking to be reuenged of this deede, was by the ſame Pope forced, as is aforeſaid, vpon his knees to aske him forgiueneſſe, who beſides in ſpite with bitter wordes ſet his feete vpon his throat. *Iohn of Cremone.*

As for the Emperour *Fredericke the 11.* him did Pope *Honorius the 111.* excommunicate, and againe in fauour of *Iohn* king of Hierusalē releasse: but he was againe by *Gregorie the 1X.* excommunicated, and then might not be releasse but for money. Thus are the releasses of kings from excommunications, as saleable also as the excommunications and Bulles: This releasse cost him 120000. markes of gold, yet did the same Pope *Gregorie the 1X.* againe excommunicate the said Emperour *Fredericke* the third time, terming him the forerunning of Antechrist, wherefore the Emperour might haue appealed as from a sclaunder, howbeit if you take it that the Emperours were the forerunners of the Popes, the Emperour might haue vrged *a Minima.* This Pope also called the Emperour hereticke, whereby it appeareth, that the Reformed Princes are not the first Princes, whō the Popes haue wrongfully excommunicated as heretickes: for thereof grew the faction of Guelphes & Gibellines, which is an euident token that the Popes haue bene no other but perpetuall perturbers of the Empire & whole estate of Europe. He that lust to recken vp all the Emperours, Kings & Princes that the Popes haue brought to their endes, as the Emperour *Lewes 1111.* whom *Iohn XX11.* procured to dye, as also *Conradin* king of Sicill, and *Fredericke* Duke of Austrich, who by the conspiracie of *Clement 1111.* were beheaded. Also how oftentimes the Popes haue procured the subiectes to reuolte against the Emperours, or other their Princes, might find matter sufficient for a whole booke. But what stand I vpō these thinges, which are so plentifull in bookes? Read the liues of the Popes, the histories of Emperours, & the Chronicles of the French kinges, and you shall finde histories enough, that euidently doe shewe, that the Popes neuer serued but to trouble the state of Europe, euen since the time of *Lewes* the meeke, against whō the Pope *Gregory 1111.* procured his owne childrē to cōspire, as is aforesaid. But what greater rashnesse and vanitie, yea euē follie and phrenesie would a man desire, then that of Pope *Innocent 111.* who put the whole Realme of France into interdictiō: and of *Boniface V111.* who denounced the Realme of Fraunce to be fallen into the Popes handes? But this wound the

Suppleem. Chronic.

Mer des Histoires.

Iohn Maior.

the king applied the remedie of the Scorpion, for it coſt the Pope his life. Beſides that, king *Philip* the Faire forbad the trāſport of any coyne to Rome. And it is to be noted, that the Popes quarell was not as then vpon any hatred to Reformatiō, for that was not yet in queſtion, but vpō a deſire the Pope had to trouble the ſtate of the Realme. Neither did king *Philip* the Faire forbid the trāſport of any money to Rome as being a Reformed, but as a king deſiring to mainteine the ſtate of France.

True it is, that the Reformed Princes are not the firſt Princes that haue bene excommunicated, becauſe they wold not cleaue to the Popes ſuperſtitions: for Pope *Gregorie III.* excōmunicated the Emperor *Leo III.* for the ſame cauſe, namely, for that he would not ſuffer Images in the Churches: wherin it appeareth, that the cauſe of the Reformed is not ſo new as it ſemeth, beſide that, it appeareth how ruinous this cup of deuils which is Idolatry is, not only to the conſcience, but alſo to the ſtate, conſidering that it is the ouerthrow both of the Empire and Papacie. It is the ruine of the Empire, becauſe that for Images this Pope *Gregory IIII.* procured all Italy to reuolt from the Empire: and it is the ruine of the Papacie, becauſe that for theſe ſuperſtitions Boemia, England, & moſt part of Germanie haue abandoned the Pope, as France alſo with the reſt of Europe wil ſhortly do. *Euſeb. Chronic.* *Euſeb. Cron.*

Morouer there is great difference betwene being an heretick & being by the Pope denounced an heretick: for we know that the Pope hath ſometimes excommunicated the Florentins, and the Lawyers haue affirmed the excōmunication to be voyde, as proceding of hatred, and his hatred againſt Reformation is wel known to be the hatred of Cain, who hated his brother Abel, becauſe Abels works were better then his. Beſides it is a principle of the Canon law, that one excommunicate perſon can not excōmunicate an other, one hereticke can not denounce another an hereticke, neither one Apoſtate declare another an heretick or excommunicate perſon: the Pope being ſuch a one we haue iuſt occaſion to appeale from his ſentēce: but we can proue that he is an hereticke, an Apoſtate from the faith, and excommunicate by ſuch Iudges, from whoſe ſentence he can not appeale.

He is aſſuredly an hereticke which leaneth to a doctrine re-

pugnant to the Goſpell: But the Pope leaneth to a doctrine repugnant to the doctrine of the Goſpell taught by Ieſus Chriſt: therefore it followeth that the Pope is an hereticke. My Minor I proue thus. Ieſus Chriſt in the Goſpell forbiddeth his Diſciples, whoſe ſucceſſor the Pope termeth him ſelfe, to vſurpe ſuch dominion ouer the Nations as Kings and Princes doe: But this doctrine doth the Pope diametrally contrary, vſurping dominion ouer the Nations, yea euen ouer Emperours and Kinges: the Pope therefore is an hereticke. And S. Peter, whoſe ſucceſſour the Pope termeth him ſelfe, doth forbid the vſurping of dominion ouer the Lordes inheritaunce, which the Pope doth vſurpe.

Moreuer S. Peter ſaith: There ſhalbe falſe teachers that ſhall make traficke of men, that is to ſay, make traficke of mens ſoules, as the Reuelatiō doth expound it: but the Pope maketh ſuch traficke by his Bulles: He is therefore a falſe teacher, and conſequently an hereticke. S. Paule alſo, whoſe ſword the Pope ſaith that he beareth, doth ſay, that ſuch as forbid mariage & meates, be Apoſtotaes from the faith, alſo that they be cleauers to ſpirites of errors and the doctrines of deuils: he ſpeaketh thē of the Popes, who in their vowed chaſtitie doe forbid mariage, and in their Lent, meates. Thus the Pope bearing S. Paules ſword, beareth the ſword that cutteth his owne throat. And this we muſt alſo note; that there be ſome Doctors which vphold ſuperſtitions, others which forced by the Popes do endure them, as loth to part from them without their Princes cōmaundement: Now thoſe doe we accompt meere ſuperſtitious and guiltie of theſe crimes, which vphold and mainteine them: but as for ſuch as of force doe ſuffer them, it were to be wiſhed that they were come from among the others, according to the ſaying of the Scripture. *Come forth of her my people*, whereby we open them ſuch a paſſage as ſhall not be vncommodious for them. Out of S. Paules wordes alſo where he ſaith, whoſoeuer participateth in the cup of deuils is iuſtly excōmunicate, that is to ſay, is excommunicable from the cup of Chriſt, we may inferre, that ſith the Pope through his ſuperſtitions participateth in the cup of deuils, he is excommunicate out of the cup

1. *Tim.* 4.

of

of Christ. Also it is a principle in the Clergie law, that one excommunicated person, cā not excommunicate an other, whereby the Pope can not excōmunicate the Reformed Princes, because him selfe by the law of God & testimonie of holy Scripture standeth excommunicate, he that is rightly excommunicated, is more excommunicated then he that is so but by acte.

Moreouer, the Pope is a schismaticke, in that he hath made a deuision in the state of Fraunce: a conspirator, becauſe he hath procured the League to conspire against the King, that is, the subiects against their Lord and Soueraigne. And a Church robber, for he hath caused the sale of the demaines of the Clergie. Here we see what a Iudge he is that hath pronounced the sentence of heresie against the Reformed Princes: an hereticke, a false teacher, an Apostata, one that is excōmunicable, one that cleaueth to the doctrines of deuils, a schismaticke, a conspirator, 1. Tim. 4. and a Church robber, who hypocritically speaketh leasings. Surely the Popes staffe of excommunication, which he neuer vseth but in his conspiracies against Princes, is a daungerous staffe: howbeit he ought to know, that he hath no power, but what is subiect to the obedience of kings: well may the Pastors propound vnto Kinges Gods commandements, and admonish them to obey the same, giuing thē warning of Gods threats and iudgements, in case they do not obey him: yea and vpon their transgressions thereof, to reproue them, albeit no further then Gods word doth warrant: yea and all this must they do with great modestie, moderation, discretion & circumspection, watching time conuenient, not to handle them rigorously, but seeking to vse them with reason and modestie, following the example of Nathan when he reproued Dauid. True it is that Elias spake boldly vnto Dauid, but his example is rather to be admired then imitated: for all kings are not Achabs, neither all men Eliasses. The Popes excommunications are Ostracismes, which he vouchsafeth to none but Kings and Princes. In olde time the Apostles counted it an honor to be scourged by the Scribes & Pharisies, but now it is an honor to be whipped with the Popes excommunications.

As concerning the French nation, albeit one part of them do 4

know what the truth is, yet dare they not say what they thinke, neuertheleſſe I know, that if occaſion ſhould ſerue to atchieue libertie, the more they haue bene conſtrained, the more deſirous will they be to ſhake off the yoke of thoſe that haue oppreſſed them. Some againe do referre them ſelues to their Curats care, who many times doe take but ſmall care. In deede I graunt a man ſhould honor his Curate: but when it concerneth his ſaluation, that is a matter to be better looked vnto then by a debitie. If a Marchant be in lawe about a Ciuill cauſe, he will be glad to haue the opinions of ſundry Atturneys, becauſe him ſelfe is no lawyer: but his owne iudgement muſt be it that ſhall teach him of two Atturneyes of contrary opinions, which he muſt follow: yea ſometime it may ſo fall out, that hauing the aduiſe of many, he ſhall reſolue him ſelfe vpon one gathered out of all the others, by the helpe of his owne iudgement, which ſhal be better then the aduice of any one ſeuerally taken. Euen ſo when in matters of conſcience they ſhall bring a good iudgement, not before entangled, they may finde out thoſe things that are fit and healthfull for them, peraduenture better then their Doctors could haue taught them. Who taught the Canaanite to anſwer our Lord ſo wiſely in a matter that ſhe had neuer before heard of, was it her Doctors? no, but the ſpirit of God. The ſame is he alſo which is able to teach you the ſame things which your Doctors vnderſtand not. We knowe that Ieſus Chriſt is the light of the world, as the Goſpell witneſſeth, and that this light illuminateth the blind, and blindeth or dazeleth the eyes of the wiſe, as the Goſpel teacheth. For a man muſt not ſay: I will not go to the light becauſe I am blind: for albeit thou art blind, yet mayeſt thou be fit to be illuminated by the light of the Goſpell: that is to ſay, he that is ignorant, may notwithſtanding be fitte to learne Gods myſteries, in caſe he be not maliciouſly ignorant. A man at controuerſie with his neighbour, will inſtruct his Atturney in his right, albeit his Atturney be a lawyer, and him ſelfe but a paiſant or a clowne: euen ſo may you ſhewe your preachers, what you haue ſeene and knowen concerning the truth, thereby to induce them with mildneſſe to ſeeke your ſaluation: yea, ye may require it euen of your King,

ſith

ſith it concerneth the ſaluation of your ſoules, then which there is nothing of greater importance. Beſides you can not enioy any aſſured peace, but by making atonement with God, of whom do depend both peace and warre: and the meane to growe to atonement with him, is to take away that which offendeth him that is, ſuperſtitions, as images with the worſhip thereupon depending. Is it not better to renounce them, then to languiſh in perpetuall miſerie, to be entangled in a perpetuall warre, or to haue ſuch a peace as is but a renuing of warre, either to enioy a demie peace, as it were a ſunne betweene two cloudes, in lieu of an aſſured peace, that may be eſtabliſhed by the meanes propounded, which if you follow not, you ſhall languiſh in warre without enioying your commodities, which for the moſt part ſhall remaine ſubiect to the ſouldiour and thiefe, as your cattell to be driuen out of your paſtures, and your tillage to ceaſe: ſome of you to be taken and ranſomed, others to die of the enemies ſword, and ſo to leaue their widowes and orphanes deſolate, yet doth not the end of all theſe calamities depend vpon the ſword: for how long haue we hoped for it, and yet can not get it? For it is moſt certaine, that when all the men in the world ſhal haue vndertaken what they liſt, after they ſhall haue laboured in vaine, Fraunce ſhall be forced in the ende to ſhut vp all her calamities by ſharing the controuerſie with the Reformed, wherin eche muſt part with ſomewhat of his: as the Reformed to graunt the Clergie all their priuileges, and the Clergie to yeeld to their iuſt complaints, by aboliſhing their idolatries and ſuperſtitions repugnant to Gods word: and ſuch of the people as haue any knowledge, authoritie, wealth or zeale, to employ all in the ſetting forward of ſo great a benefit to the cōmon wealth. Is not ſuch an aſſured counſell which may be giuen to the benefite both of King and Clergy, & the peace of the people, better then a bloudy aduice, tending to root out of Fraunce one of the factions, which hath taken ſo ſure anker hold, that it can not be deſtroyed without the ouerthrow of the other? Some haue perſwaded the French nation, that Reformation hath bred all the calamities now ſeene in the world: but in troth it is not Reformation that hath bred them, but ſuperſtition, and the Pope

for maintaining his superstitions, hath troubled the whole state of Europe, and God being offended therewith, doth punish vs. Hath not God in his law promised, that if his people doe obserue his law, he will poure vpon them plentie of blessings, as a land flowing with milke and honie, with peace and quietnesse in the land: that he would be vnto them a wall of brasse, and would ouerthrow their aduersaries, so as he would put a thousand to flight, and make a thousand to pursue ten thousand? Likewise, that if they forsooke his lawes, he would send them a heauen of brasse and infinite other calamities, such as this day we see in Fraunce. Being thus scourged, we ought to acknowledge the hand of God: the horse knoweth the riders hand that tameth him, euē so should we know that it is God that chastiseth vs, and knowing it, we ought to seeke if there be any euill in vs, that we might amend it, namely, whether there be any thing repugnāt to his lawes, that may prouoke his wrath. Then shall we finde that superstition is repugnant to him, and therefore that his wrath can not be appeased, but by abolishing this euill, and cleauing to his ordinances: so shall we haue experience of the value of Gods fauour. I know that some do thinke those promises are become old: but they can not waxed old, it is our old Adam that is growen old, not Gods promises.

Deut. 28.

True it is that the literall ceremonies are growē out of date, but Gods promises depēd not thereupon: but cōtrariwise God him selfe saith: *I neede not your sacrifices, your Sabaoths, or your new Moones.* But his promises are made to those that shall obey the lawes of the Lord, whereby the worship of God is kept pure, & all contrarie superstition taken away. It is the fulfilling of his lawes, which bringeth his blessing and peace vpon a people, & the transgression thereof that bringeth destruction vpō Nations: It is also to be noted that God in Ieremie doth say, *When I brought your fathers out of Egypt. I spake of no sacrifices, but commaunded them to obey my voyce.* As also we see that England, who hath mainteined the puritie of Gods lawes these 30. yeares, hath enioyed an assured peace vnder the handes of a woman, and yet such Realmes as be gouerned by men haue bene troubled: for that kingdome hath God preserued frō both secret

Esay. 1.

Ierem. 7. 22.

cret & opē enemies, & to that natiō hath bene a wall of brasse. Euen when the League couered the Ocean with Galiasses and ships of both rocke and Canon proofe, God sent the winds (his angels, as S. Paule termeth them) to scatter his aduersaries. In summe, whereſoeuer a people is that obserueth Gods lawes, the same shall euery where finde a land of Chanaan, that floweth with milke and hony, and Gods protection to serue for a wall thereto. As also when soeuer a people shall turne from Gods lawes, and follow superstition repugnant thereto, the same shal finde a brasen heauen, and Gods wrath against it. So as I doubt not openly to auouch to the French Nation, that they haue no more to doe, but to chose whether they had rather languish in perpetuall trouble, prouoking the Lord with their superstitiōs, or to attaine to peace of conscience and state, by obeying Gods lawes, and shaking of the yoke of the Pope and his superstitions? Then if they thinke good to abandone superstition, their supplications may greatly moue the Kinges harte, and induce him to minister that iustice to his people. Heb. 1. Ezech. 20.

Now will I come to the Queene of England: she I say is a wise & a vertuous Princesse, & her vertue and wisedome hath appeared in these three thinges. First, that she hath mainteined her people in peace, when all Europe was in trouble: Secondly, that she hath gotten the victorie of her enemies, both open and secret, domesticall and trayterous: and thirdly that her selfe hath bene a partie and fauorer of the Clergie, which may be a most beautifull miror and example to Fraunce, and other Nations, when soeuer God shall vouchsafe to call them to Reformation: yet in all this are we to confesse Gods fauour, who hath endued her with such wisedome and vertue, and accompanied the same with his blessing, which hath bred her peace, giuen her the victorie ouer her enemies, and mainteined the estate of her Clergie: she is a second Debora triumphing ouer Sisara, and iudging Israell vnder a Palme tree. The Palme tree doth in deede belong vnto her: I say the victorious Palme tree, sith she triūpheth ouer her enemies, which are enemies to God and his people: and vnder this Palme tree doth our Debora iudge Gods people, hauing mainteined the gouernement and Iudg. 4.

ſtate of the Clergie, which God hath ordeined by his law, and confirmed in the Goſpell.

The Pope hath preſumed to commaund both in heauen and earth: he hath endeuored to open heauen with S. Peters kayes, and to make himſelfe feared with S. Paules ſword. And the king of Spaine hath thought to become Monarke of the world, to commaund alone vpon earth, and to poſſeſſe the ſeas alone, as well Eaſt as Weſt. And theſe two are come into the North to be ouercome by a woman. Thus doth God chaſtiſe his enemies, and thus doth he crowne his choſen. The Giant Goliah was ouerthrowne by a ſhepheard, yet was that ſhepheard a man: and behold here two Goliahs, the Pope and the King of Spaine, armed from top to toe, to cauſe them ſelues to be beaten by a woman. I will therefore celebrate the praiſe of the Chriſtianly Reformed Debora, who with her Atlanticke ſhoulder, leaning vpon the Deuine fauor, hath vpholden the Reformed Eccleſiaſticall heauen, I ſay the heauen of the Clericall eſtate vnder the Reformation. Neither call I her the Engliſh Debora, but the Chriſtian Debora, becauſe the good that ſhe hath done to the Church in vpholding the ſtate of the Clergie, redoundeth not to England onely, but to all Chriſtendome, ſith we are to looke that Fraunce ſhould grow to the ſame Reformation, whereto it can not come, but by taking example of this Princeſſe, to preſerue the ſtate of the Clergie, and the like wil all other places do that ſhall conuert to Reformation. And this was wiſely conſidered of her Maieſtie, for the ſtate of the Clergie, is the honour of her Realme, & one piller thereof. She hath no enemie but the Pope, who, had the ſtate of the Clergie bene ouerthrowen, had had more fauourers & fewer reſiſtants able to withſtand him. Thus hath God made the portion of Leuy equall with his brethrē, as well for that he would not that they whō he hath choſen for his inheritāce, ſhould be in worſe ſtate thē others, as alſo becauſe it was requiſite that Leuy ſhould in part, be the vpholder of his brethrē. Thus alſo the Clergy ought to be in part a piller of the eſtate. Two notes of the gouernment of this diſcreet Engliſh Elizabeth and Chriſtian Debora be theſe: firſt, that vnder her firſt had Reformation free and full courſe throughout England:

gland: next, that by her alſo the ſtate of the Clergie hath bene preſerued. In Frãce God hath purpoſed to maintaine the priuileges of the Clergie, which are the honor of Fraunce, wherein France is bound to Queene Elizabeth, for ſhewing the way how to come to Reformation without endomaging the Clergie, albeit the priuileges of the Clergy might be better kept in France then they haue bene in England. To blemiſh the vertue of this Queene, ſome may alleage the Realmes that haue kept their people in peace with the yoke of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, wherto I aunſwer, that the ſame is a tyrannous yoke of the Pope, which can not be but ruinous to thoſe that maintaine it. When a man boweth a tree to the earth contrary to nature, if it chance to ſcape, it ſhooteth as farre to the contrarie ſide, and ſhaketh a long time from ſide to ſide before it can finde any reſt, beſide that, if in riſing it light vpon him that bent it contrary to nature, it giueth him ſuch a blow, that it caſteth him downe: and euen ſo will it happen to thoſe, that preſerue their peace with the tyrannous yoke of the Inquiſition. For if a man ſhal in their countreys, proclaime libertie according to Gods lawes, againſt the tyrannous yoke of the Inquiſition, all the world will come running. And this Inquiſitiõ will breed the ouerthrow of their eſtate that haue mainteined it, for no tyrannie is durable: And God eſpecially will reuerſe ſuch tyrannie ouer the conſciences. But the peace which this Princeſſe hath mainteined, is grounded vpon the firme rocke of Gods lawes, whereby it is vpholden, and I would to God the Queene mother had in her time ſo ſought the peace of Fraunce. I would to God our king who loueth the peace of his people, could ſo haue mainteined it in his Realme, as the League had neuer come to ſhuffling of the cardes: yea I would to God his Maieſtie, who loueth quietneſſe, would harken to ſuch right meanes as ſhould be giuen him to mainteine quietneſſe in his land. He hath bene made to beleue, that by warre he ſhould attaine reſt. Behold a goodly meanes to come to quietneſſe. It is an eaſie matter to marke the time when warre beginneth, but it is not ſo eaſie to know when it will end. Euen this warre hath already continued too long, and it is likely to accompany him to the graue, to ſhorten

his dayes, or to impoſe vpon him ſome Monkiſh life wherein there is more ſuperſtition then libertie.

6 As for the king of Nauarre, ſith the Sea League hath encurred ſhipwracke, he is the ſooner, but not the more to feare: for God hath giuen him both courage and valour to defend and mainteine him ſelfe, neither is he the weakeſt of the Reformed Princes, as alſo his enemies know that at his handes there is nothing to be gotten but ſtripes, the gayne is ſmall and doubtfull, but the hazard great and euident. It is no great wiſedome to begin to flay an Eele at the tayle, yet muſt the League either in duety or in honor proceede, ſith it hath begun, and either by force or furie, valour or trecherie, proweſſe or rage, try what it can do againſt him, be it but to ſhew the tricke of a maiſter, as it lately did in England, or to iumpe faire to the ground, ſo to breake the necke therof. But God who hath ſet him on worke, and in whom he hath repoſed his confidēce ſhall ſupport him, as he is able enough to doe. Howbeit in this action my greateſt pleaſure is, that the king of Nauarre hath no enemies but Gods enemies, that hate him becauſe he doth mainteine the cauſe of Gods children, yet haue they offered him great offers to giue ouer the cauſe of Reformation, neither can it be but they muſt needes fall, becauſe God whoſe purpoſes are cleane contrary to theirs, will ouerthrow their purpoſes, and vphold the king of Nauarre, who meaneth no other but to doe well.

There are vnder the Reformation ſome Magiſtrates, that haue ſtill enioyed not onely their goods, but alſo their offices and the kings pay, which ſo fell out, by reaſon of ſome Courtiers liuing vnder the Reformation, being carefull for their eſtate, and looking for a peace to be concluded were mindefull of them ſelues: and as reaſon would, prouided for their owne affaires: euen ſo, had it bene thought vpon, might there haue bene ſuch prouiſion, as the Clergie, euen vnder the Reformation, ſhould haue enioyed their benefites: whereby if it had bene ſo done, we ſhould haue had a great part of the Clergie, which now doe ſtrengthen the League, to haue taken our partes: For certainly there were many which deteſted ſuperſtition, and would haue baniſhed it, had not their ſtate or liuings with-

withholdē them. It is a matter hereafter to be looked vnto: for had it bene well ſeene to, the Churches would haue encreaſed, where now for theſe 28. yeares ſpace they haue ſtill diminiſhed: howbeit with Gods helpe, it is neuer to late, and therefore it ſuffiſeth vs we prouide better hereafter.

The king of Nauarre hath ſhewed him ſelfe wiſer, more diſcret, warie and circumſpect then his aduerſaries, in that he neuer would during the kinges life, bring into queſtion the right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne, but ſtill bare and conteined him ſelfe within the bandes of iuſt obedience & due reſpect to the king: neither euer employed his weapōs to offend, but iuſtly, & vpon iuſt cauſe & cōſtraint had recourſe to the defenſiue armes, granted by the law of nature. And beſides returned as friends, ſuch as came againſt him as enemies, & ſought to ouercome him with ſtrong hand, refuſing to take any raunſome of them, albeit they were able to pay largely, wherin he ſheweth that he maketh but a paſtime of his enemies endeuors: like as mē do vſe to laugh at the vaine endeuours of litle children, who hauing giuen a blow (as they thinke very great) with their hand yet wet with the nurſes milk, to a man that doth but ſmile at their vayne choler, doe imagine they haue done ſome great acte, ſo as if a man ſtart frō them, and ſeeme to weepe, it bredeth infinite contentmēt, as weening to haue obteined a great victorie: Thus may we play with the mighty, when they loyter in exerciſe of childrens paſtime. Neither ought any man to couet to cōmand, but to know how to commaund: and to know well how to commaund, it is requiſite he know how to obey: As well in the one as in the other is wiſedome and dexteritie neceſſarie. S. Paule teacheth that a Biſhop that gouerneth not his familie well, can neuer well gouerne the Church. By an argument taken of an oppoſite reaſon, I ſay that he that can well and diſcretly gouerne a ſmall gouernement, can alſo well diſcharge a greater office. I ſee many that affect great offices, but neuer labour to be worthy the ſame. Neuertheleſſe the King of Nauarre maketh him ſelfe ſo much more worthier the Crowne, as he doth leſſe affect it, by leauing the ſucceſſe thereof in Gods hand.

Concerning the Miniſters of the Reformation, ſome there 7

are of great zeale and learning, ſuch as haue ſuffred much for the puritie which they haue taught, & haue bene content with litle, whereby they deſerue great commendation. Neither deſire I any more, but that ſtill they may be more and more carefull for the peace of the Church: for ſuch contentions there haue bene, euē among the Reformed, as haue not greatly auailed to edification: and herein I greatly commend Bucer, yea and honor his aſhes: for he would neuer leane to any the partialities among the Reformed, but bare him ſelfe quietly betweene both parts, and neuer innouated any thing in the ſtate of the Clergie. Neither ſhould we endeuor to triumph ouer our brethren, but ouer our enemies. For my part I would not ſeeke to triumph ouer the Clergie, but ouer the Papacie, which is the Beaſt, ouer whom we are promiſed to triumph in the Reuelation. And as for the Clergie, I wiſh, by reaſonable offers and iuſt admonitions, to induce them to participate with vs in the triumph ouer the Beaſt, by renouncing her ſuperſtitions.

As for the Engliſh gouernment, I ſay that it is grounded vpon Gods word, ſo farre foorth as it concerneth the ſtate of the Clergie, inſtituted in the olde Teſtament, and confirmed in the Newe.

And concerning the gouernment of the French Church, ſo much as concerneth the equalitie of Miniſters, it hath the like foundation in Gods word, namely in the example of the Apoſtles, which may ſuffiſe to authoriſe both theſe formes of eſtate, albeit in ſeuerall times and places. None can denie but the Apoſtles among them ſelues were equall as concerning authoritie, albeit there were an order for their preſedence. When the Apoſtles firſt planted the Church, the ſame being ſmall & in affliction, there were not as yet any other Biſhops, Prieſtes, or Deacons but them ſelues: they were the Biſhops and Deacons, and together ſerued the tables. Thoſe men therfore whom God raiſeth vp to plant a Church, can do no better then after the example of the Apoſtles, to beare them ſelues in equall authoritie: for this cauſe haue the French Miniſters, planters of the reformed Church in Fraunce vſurped it, howbeit prouiſionally: for it is a matter auowed, that they hold their diſcipline

but

but by prouiſion, reſeruing libertie to alter it according to the accurrences. But the equalitie that reſted among the Biſhops in the primitiue Church, did increaſe as the Churches increaſed: and thereof proceeded the creation of Deacons, and afterward of other Biſhops and Prieſts: yet ceaſed not the Apoſtles equalitie in authoritie, but they that were created had not like authoritie with the Apoſtles. But the Apoſtles remained as ſoueraine Biſhops, neither was there any greater then they. Hereof do I inferre, that in the ſtate of a mighty & peaceable church, as is the Church of England, or as the Church of France or ſuch like might be, if God ſhould call them to reformation, the ſtate of the Clergie ought to be preſerued: for equalitie would be hurtful to the ſtate, and in time breede confuſion. But as the Apoſtles continued in this perfect equalitie, ſo long as their new planted Church was ſmall, ſo ſhould equalitie be applied in the planting of a Church, or ſo long as the Church continueth ſmall or vnder perſecution: yet may it alſo be admitted, as not repugnant to Gods word (ſith it hath takē place in the Church) in thoſe places where alreadie it is receaued, rather then to innouate any thing. I ſay therefore, that euen in the Apoſtles time, the ſtate of the Clergie increaſed as the Church increaſed. Neither was the gouernement vnder the bondage of Egypt, & during the peace of the land of Canaan alike: for the Iſraelites had firſt Iudges, and as their ſtate increaſed, they had Kings. God him ſelfe likewiſe firſt dwelt as a ſhepheard in a Tabernacle built by Moſes, but afterward as a king, in a houſe built by Salomon. And the tree of life beareth twelue fruicts, according to the twelue ſeaſons of the yeare, whereby we are taught, that ſuch as haue charge of the Lords garden, muſt vſe the fruictes thereof according to their ſeaſons. It is alſo to be thought, that the Miniſters of the Reformation, which planted Reformation in Fraunce, had reſpect to their buſineſſe, and to the worke they tooke in hand, when they brought in this equalitie, which was, to plant a Church, and to begin after the maner of the Apoſtles, when they planted the Church at Hieruſalem: as alſo they meant not to reuerſe the ſtate of the Clergie, either to ſubmit it to their orders, whenſoeuer the Clergie or whole ſtate of France

ſhould happen to admit Reformation. But their purpoſe hath tended to ouerthrowe ſuperſtition, and in the meane time to beare them ſelues according to their ſimple equalitie, which in deede was the true meane to Reforme the Church, whereas had they meant both to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to reuerſe the ſtate of the Clergie, they ſhould with one hand haue reformed the Church, and with the other haue deformed the ſtate. And they that preſumed that Reformation muſt needes ſubuert the ſtate of the Clergie, conceaued that foreiudgement out of ſeaſon, and without any ſufficient cauſe, & their foreiudgement hath bred great calamities in Fraunce. Wherupon I inferre, that he which would take occaſion, of the equalitie brought in into Fraunce, to reuerſe the eſtate of the Epiſcopall Clergie among the Reformed, ſhall greatly wrong the cauſe of thoſe, who therevnder haue reformed Fraunce, and had neuer that intent: as alſo they ſhould reſemble the dogges that would go into the vineyard, but carie a yoke at their neckes that keepeth them out: for they ſhould carie with them the let, that ſhould hinder them from compaſſing their intents: for there is nothing that hindereth from achiuing to perfection, but it may be accompliſhed without preiudice to the ſtate. Ieſus Chriſt taught perfection, yet ſpake he neuer againſt the ſtate, but alwayes excepted it, ſaying, that theſe things we muſt do, yet not leaue the others vndone, neither can there be any good thing done with the ouerthrow of the ſtate, but may more commodiouſly be done without preiudice to the ſtate. And Chriſt when they came to tempt him, excepted the ſtate, not onely in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, but alſo in Ciuill, ſaying, *Giue vnto Ceſar that belongeth to Ceſar, and to God that belongeth to God:* as alſo he would take no notice of Ciuill iudgement, when he was required to agree a man with his brother, teaching vs by his example, diſcretly to vſe circumſpection in time and place. As alſo it were but a bad conſequent to ſay, there be abuſes in the ſtate, and therefore we muſt ſubuert the ſtate, but it were a good conſequent to ſay, there be abuſes in the ſtate, they muſt then be corrected, albeit without preiudice to the ſtate. I ſay the reaſon is not altogether like when there be ſuperſtitions contrary to conſcience: for then

then muſt weforſake them,and ſeparate our ſelues therefro,according to that which is ſpoken of the whore of Babylon:*Come forth of her my people, leaſt you be made partakers of her woundes and plagues.*

Our Miniſters haue vſurped their equalitie prouiſionally, after the example of the firſt ſtate of the Apoſtolicke Church, not to intrude them ſelues to eſtabliſh a gouernement in a kingdome: for it was not Aaron that built the Tabernacle, but Moſes, neither was it the high Prieſt that built the Temple,but Salomon:no it was not Aaron that ordeined the Eccleſiaſticall gouernement euen in Iſraell, but Moſes, neither belōgeth it to the paſtors,to ordeine Eccleſiaſticall gouernement, but to Princes. The paſtors duetie is to cauſe it to be obſerued & inſtruct the conſciences: and alſo the Princes might do well to cauſe that which God hath eſtabliſhed to be obſerued.

No mā can reproue the Recabites for their auſtere life,in that they would not vſe either wine or houſes, but were content to drinke water & to dwell in tentes or tabernacles: but had they condemned all that vſe wine or houſes, then had them ſelues bene condemnable. Euen ſo no man can condemne the French Miniſters for being content with their equalitie and with litle. But if they ſhould cōdemne all that vſe Eccleſiaſticall dignities & Church goods,them ſelues ſhould therein be condemnable, neither doe they condemne them. S. Paule ſpared the Church and laboured with his hands,yet did he not condēne thoſe that vſed the Church goods which he ſpared, but ſhewed that that which he did was vpon fauour,not of duety,as acknowledging the Churches to be poore, euē ſo likewiſe may a man forſake a benefice offered him, yea & admoniſh others to do the like,but he may not compell any.

Other matter doe I not require,but that we may be more & more circumſpect,as ioyning diſcretion with zeale. Zeale is a goodly matter,and it is good to vowe the harte vnto God: but all ſacrifice muſt be ſeaſoned with ſalt, and this ſacrifice of our hartie zeale and voluntary oblation muſt be ſeaſoned with the ſalt of wiſedome and circumſpection.

Hetherto haue I ſpoken onely of ſimple ceremonies,to ſhew

that they are no cauſe of our ſeparation from the Pope, becauſe they be of them ſelues indifferent, or at the leaſt tollerable, as not being forbidden by Gods word, ſo long as we attribute no vertue or holineſſe vnto them. For the reaſons that moued the Apoſtles ſo ſore to beate downe the ceremonies of the law, was becauſe the people did ground their righteouſneſſe and merite of workes thereupon, yet can not we condemne the Reformed that vſe any ceremonies, neither the French Miniſters, becauſe they vſe none. The French Miniſters doe reiect them, becauſe they will not retaine any token of the aunciēt Popiſh ſuperſtitiōs, whereas others haue ſtill kept ſome, becauſe they wil not ſeeme to innouate too much: either part haue their diuers conſiderations, yet neither contrary nor wicked. But this I may ſay, that in theſe thinges the greateſt ſimplicitie is beſt, but this ſimplicitie may be moderated hauing reſpect to ſuch as we are to deale with, neither doth circumſpection any whit hurt at all. And I commende our French Miniſters, for that albeit they vſe none, yet they teach them to be thinges tollerable. For in deede they are ſuch, as no man ſhould be bound vnto, except vpō the Princes pleaſure, who is not to be diſobeyed or ſtriuen withall, for matters of them ſelues tollerable: for the which we ought not to condemne one an other, as we proue by the Apoſtles wordes, where he ſpeaketh of thinges ſacrificed to Idols, for the which he will not that we ſhould cōdemne, but beare one with an other: and with all haue a reſpect to the conſciences of the weake: For if for the foode that entreth into the body, hauing bene ſacrificed to heathen Idols, we may moue no ſtrife, much more ſhould we make none for apparell, which concerneth onely a gowne or ſuch like, which haue bene vſurped by ſuch, as imagined by ſuch ſuperſtitious habit to ſerue God and Chriſt.

8 Now to the Reformed againſt whom the whole furie of the League is bent. They are to ſuffer, yet neede they not greatly to feare, for their deliueraunce is at hand. And what ſhould they feare? the world? it is a vanquiſhed monſter that is ouercome, ſaith not Ieſus Chriſt, *Reioyce my little flocke, for I haue ouercome the world?* Shall they then feare leaſt the ſclaue of ſclaues

ſhould

ſhould ouercome the Lord of Lordes, and triumph ouer the king of kinges? If the Philiſtins aſſaile vs, we haue in heauen a mighty and valiant Sampſon that will deliuer his people, yea ſuch a one as is not ſubiect to the deceit of a wench. Shall we then feare a wench, whom we ſee buſie about ſpinning of lines, whereof to make a League, to binde our Sāpſons hands & feete with a thred of towe? League well thy League thou Romiſh Dalila, and preſſe downe thy knots while our Sampſon ſleepeth, heape League vpon League, and corde vpon corde, that he eſcape not, for thou muſt not hope to pull of the haire of our Nazarite, whom thou canſt not reach. Make all ſafe while he ſleepeth, for if he begin to wake and ſo breake thy bondes, and vnleague thy League, thou ſhalt ſee thy Philiſtins take their carrier after a ſtraunge maner. But let vs looke vpon the ſtate of the Church heretofore, thereby to be taught hereafter. The Iſraeliticall Church began by ſhepheards, that were captiues in Egypt, and came thence triumphantly hauing Princes for their Iudges, and afterward Kinges that ſubdued their neighbours. The Chriſtian Church began by the imagined ſonne of a Carpenter, and grew forward by the poore Apoſtles, of whom the beſt qualified were fiſhers, who with one hand fiſhed for fiſh, and with the other for men. The Romain Emperours their enemies perſecuted them, ſo did alſo the Apoſtataes, yet was the Galilean at the laſt faine to ouercome. And the Reformed Church began by poore men, whom a marchant of Lyons fed, adminiſtring vnto them both bodely and ſpirituall food. They haue bene perſecuted, yet haue they ſtill encreaſed, ſo as at this day there be Kinges and Princes, that accompt them ſelues honored by this profeſſion, and we ſee Pharao the perſecuter of Gods people periſhed in their deliueraunce. The kingdome alſo of Babylon, which had bene the mightieſt Empire of the world, & of largeſt cōtinuance, hauing perſecuted the Church, is come to an end vnder the deliuerie of Gods people by Cirus. And euen ſo alſo the Popes kingdome, who hath afflicted the faithfull, ſhall ſhortly ceaſe by the deliuerie of the Reformed. True it is that the Pope is not ſo perſwaded, but imagineth the contrary, becauſe that Daniell teacheth that Ante-

Iudg. 14.

chriſtes kingdome muſt continue vntill the day of iudgement, & the Pope taketh this iudgement to be the end of the world. But Daniell ſpeaketh of the iudgement of Babylon, which alſo is the iudgement of Antichriſt, and to that are we come, which began by the bloud of the Martirs, & ſhall end by the ruine of the Papacie; and of all the kingdomes that ſhall oppoſe themſelues againſt Chriſt, which ſhall be broken as a glaſſe vnder an iron ſcepter. Hitherto it hath ſeemed, that to raigne, it needed but to turne the backe to Chriſt: But all things haue their tyme and their courſe, and now is the periode come, and the caſe altered, and euery kingdome muſt periſh that ſhall oppoſe it ſelfe againſt Chriſtes kingdome. Hitherto the daughter of Babell hath made the daughter of Sion to drinke of the cup of afflictiõ, but hereafter her ſelfe ſhall drinke the dregs therof. For the Lord ſhal take the cup of his wrath out of the hands of the daughter of Sion, and make Babylon dronken therewith.

Moreouer I ſay, that ſith God hath giuen vs a King, we muſt loue and honor him: and ſpeake of him wiſely and modeſtly, becauſe he is our ſuperiour, and our ſoueraigne, we owe him all honor & duetie. We know how Manaſſes afflicted the people that defended the puritie of Gods word, him ſelfe maintaining Idolatrie, yet did God ſo teach his harte, that through a goodly conuerſion he glorified God: neither is Gods power or mercy leſſe now then it was then. The hartes of kings are in his hands, & he is able to turne the harte of our King, yea God can make of a hart of Manaſſes perſecuting the Church, the hart of an Ezechias or a Ioſias, Reforming the Church: and he can doe vs more good in one day, then hitherto he hath done vs harme. Alſo we muſt not onely haue a reſpect to our King, in yeelding honor to whom honor belongeth, feare to whom feare, and tribute to whõ tribute, but we muſt alſo beare our ſelues modeſtly toward all others, yea albeit they be our aduerſaries, as knowing that they haue as it were ſome pretence to thinke euill of vs, by reaſon of ſuch falſe reports, as haue bene made them. For the deuill neuer wanteth ſclaunders, neither publiſhers of the ſame: but we following our Lordes inſtructions, muſt do good to our enemies, and not returne one reproche in exchaunge for

2. Paralip. 33.

2. King. 18. 4.

2 King. 23.

Rom. 13. 7.

Mat. 12. 44

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an other: yea we muſt ouercome their euill with our goodneſſe, and their curſes with our good ſpeaches, by ſpeaking well of them and euill of none, rather couering their vices and imperfectiōs, if we know of any, then caſting thē in the teeth with the ſame, for God requireth not a vaine, light, harebrainde and raſh people, but ſuch as be wiſe, as by Moſes he teacheth: which wiſedome he layeth vs down in his word, the beginning whereof is the feare of God, the end is charitie, & the foundation is Gods word, the building is faith, & the crowne of the worke is glory euerlaſting. But each glory hath his triumph proceeding of ſome victorie, and the victory of faith is the victorie ouer the world: howbeit our faith muſt be armed with diſcretion, modeſtie, & paciēce: for by ſuch weapons ſhall we obteine more victories then by the ſword: neither is the victorie ouer the hart gottē by the ſword, well may it be wonne by modeſtie. By modeſty may the harts of the mighty be wonne to do vs good, or at the leaſt to do vs leſſe harme then they would. Beſides if ye behaue your ſelues according to that wiſedom, which God requireth of his people, you ſhal no more but opē your hands, & you ſhall finde them repleniſhed with Gods bleſſinges. Open your mouth ſaith the Pſalmiſt, and it ſhall be filled with meate: God will ſtirre you vp ſuch friends, as you haue not ſought: He will make you to eate the fruictes, which you haue neither planted nor ſowen: and he will giue you the victorie, when you do but looke on. I would not wiſh you to defend Religion with the ſword, which ſhould be defended with ſpirituall weapons: but in deede it is one thing to defend Religion, and an other to defend the people that mainteine Religion. For Religion muſt be defended with the ſword of the word, but as for Religious people, God hath alwayes in ſtore a Dauid to defend thē with the ſword, when ſoeuer neede ſhall require: you know that Michaell and his angels, doe fight for vs againſt the Dragon and his angels: what ſhall we then feare? Let vs feare God, and we ſhall be freed from the feare of the world: let vs be wiſe and circumſpect in our deliberations, modeſt in our actions, and ſober in our diſcourſes: let vs repoſe our confidence in God, and endeuour to do well, ſo will God be vpon our ſide and ſo take

Rom. 12. 19
1. Cor. 4. 12.
1. Pet. 3. 9.
Rom. 12. 21.
Galat. 6. 3.

Pſal. 81.

Apoc. 12.

our partes, as nothing ſhall be able to hurt vs.

9 The difference betwene the Catholiques and the Reformed hath ſeemed greater then it is, becauſe the world hath imagined that ſome part of the controuerſie conſiſted in the ſtate, yea there are ſome that haue ſuppoſed, that ſimple abuſes and ceremonies onely were in part cauſe of the ſchiſme: but now may we eaſily perceaue by the reaſons hitherto deducted, that there remaineth no farther difference but the ſuperſtition, that is to ſay, for the Idols which S. Paule tearmeth deuils, and for the ſuperſtitious traditions, which he calleth the doctrine of deuils, ſo that ſuch as hereafter ſhall fight againſt vs, can not fight but for deuils, which are the Dragon and his Angels, whereas we do fight for the contrary part, which is the part of Michael and his Angels, neither fight we in doubtfull hope: for we know that our Michaell who is the King of Kings, ſhall ouercome the ten hornes of the Beaſt, which are the confederates in the League. Now therefore let the Catholques looke to their buſineſſe, to wit, whether they will defend the deuils cauſe: for whatſoeuer ſhift they find, yet can they not eſcape, but S. Paule will conuince them, in proofe that ſuperſtitions are the cup of deuils. To new occurrences, we muſt haue new deliberations. They are therefore now to deliberate vpon the argument which we propound. I do here ſummon them to the throne of God the creator of all things, and of Ieſus Chriſt the redeemer of his people, to looke well to their doings, for it is no ſmall matter that they haue in hand: I waſh my hands before God, that if any euill happen them, it ſhall from henceforth be through their owne fault: let them conſider whether they will fight for the doctrine of deuils: for there is if they marke it, no queſtion but of that point, and ſo much the better both for them and vs: but if they obſtinately will ſupport the cauſe of deuils, ſo much the worſe for them, and they ſhall find a puniſher, and yet ſhall we neuertheleſſe be releeued. If they will not ſee or heare the iuſt exhortation made vnto them, their contumacie alſo will condemne them. For contumacie is imputed to the wrongfulneſſe of the cauſe, and maketh the contumaxe guiltie of the crime whereof he is accuſed. In ſumme, howſoeuer it be, our cauſe can not but

1. Cor. 10. 1. Tim. 4.

Apoc. 12. Apoc. 17. 14.

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be holpen,becauſe it referreth it ſelfe to trial,and that God hath remitted it to ſuch a paſſe,that euery way it is iuſt,and the equitie thereof is cleare and euident:and our aduerſaries cauſe is manifeſtly conuicted. Moreouer it may be the Catholiques at the firſt bluſh, will thinke theſe to be but vaine ſhapes,and ſo perhaps will not comprehend how profitable our aduiſe may be to the King, to the Clergie, and to the Commons,and yet ſhal not our aduiſe be altogether vnprofitable. If a man that were to paſſe ouer a riuer, which he had heard to be wadeable, and yet vpon the ſhore ſhould find one that knew it better,who ſhould warne him of the contrarie, if yet notwithſtanding ſuch aduertiſement, he would needes trie, would you therefore take the aduertiſement to haue bene vtterly vnprofitable? No, for had not the aduertiſement bene giuen,he might haue aduentured,& waded ſo farre,that he could not recouer:for the aduertiſement will procure him to ſwimme betweene hope and feare, and to looke better to the danger,the which as he ſhall find too great, he will turne backe before he go too deepe: and ſo experience ſhall make them knowe the commoditie of this aduiſe, which otherwiſe were ignorant,& by diſcourſe could not haue known it. But let them proceede, the ſucceſſe of matters ſhall inſtruct them, when they ſhall ſee their purpoſes haue none other iſſue then this riuer that is vnwadeable, yea a bottomleſſe gulphe:& when they ſhal haue ſought in vaine for the iſſue of theſe things and ſhall not find it, they will reclaime them ſelues, and come to that reaſon which we ſhew them. If there be a blind man in the midſt of a great hall, and ſome one will direct him out at the dore, it may be he will not follow him,that offreth him ſelfe to guide him, but leauing him, will feele along the wall, which alſo may conduct him,& ſo go groping till he come to the dore. But experience is a maruelous matter,which teacheth the harebrained by effect, that which they could neuer comprehend by diſcourſe. It is ſayd,that none are more deafe,then they that wil not heare, and I ſay that none are worſe blind, then they that will not ſee reaſon,and yet is experience their guide and wall,all along the which,as it were groping, they may ſometimes get forth of thoſe places,where they find them ſelues encloſed:and

thus doth experience ſerue for a ſound, to ſound the depth of the affaires of this world, for a wall, to conduct ſuch as can not go but by groping. Let vs therefore let our enemies paſſe on, & let vs ſuffer them to make triall of their wiſedomes: for in the end they ſhal find by experience, that there is no other iſſue, but the ſame which we do ſhew them. But as for vs, let vs repoſe our confidence in God, and enforce our ſelues to do well, and well will come to vs.

10 I ſay therefore, that we are greatly to reioyce, ſeing our deliuerãce at hãd, according to the ſaying of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, *When you ſhall ſee theſe things come to paſſe, reioyce, for your deliuerance is at hand:* For all the ſignes and tokens that ſhould go before the fall of Babylon, are already come to paſſe. Firſt, the 1260. yeares of the woman enuironed with the Sunne, are accompliſhed, for it is 1260. yeares ſince the ſuperſtitiõs of the holy Croſſe of Ieruſalem, & the Reliques of Saincts began, & are the moſt auncient, which haue retained the woman in the wilderneſſe 1260. yeares, ſo as there wanteth no more but her deli-
Apoc.12. uerie through the battell of Michaell againſt the Dragon. As alſo we ſee the accompliſhment of that which is ſayd, *Wo be to you, ye inhabitants of the earth, for Satan is come downe among you in great furie, becauſe he hath but a ſhort time.* Now doth Satan lay open all his furie, for he knoweth his time to be ſhort, much like as when the vncleane ſpirites were to depart the bodies of the poſſeſſed, they rent them, as Satan at this day renteth the world through the League. Likewiſe we ſee the ſaying that the
Apoc.13.3. Beaſts mortall wound was healed, fulfilled, in that the Papacie hauing bene ſhaken and readie to fall, hath ſince bene reeſtabliſhed. Moreouer we ſee that come to paſſe, that is written of
Apoc.17. the ten hornes of the Beaſt, that ſhould make warre againſt the Lambe, for it is ſayd, that theſe ten hornes are ten kings, which at once ſhall take counſell with the Beaſt to warre vpon the Lambe, & we ſee the like according to this deſcription, come to paſſe in the League, in caſe we vnderſtãd that in the holy ſcripture vnder the name of king, is meant euery ſoueraigne prince. And it is moſt certaine, that there are ten ſoueraigne Princes that at once tooke counſell with the Beaſt, which is the Papacie,

cie, to warre against Christ, that is, against his Reformed members: namely those Princes that did vnite them selues together vnder the League, onely it resteth that we see them ouercome, as shortly they shall be, that is to say, part of them, as it is sayd, that the Lambe shall ouercome them, and that in the rest shall be accomplished that that is said, that they shall hate the Beast, and yeeld him naked and desolate, that is, that the League or some part thereof, shall bend them selues against the Pope, and the Pope shall haue no greater enemies thē the Leaguers, who shall depart from the Pope, & bind thē selues to the Lambe the Lord of Lordes, to ouerthrow the slaue of slaues, and it is supposed that the French Clergie may grow to that passe, yea and euen the Gentlemen Leaguers, if once they begin to smell out the Popes entent, to be preiudiciall to the Crowne and state of France: neither is that altogether to be cōtemned which sundry haue foretold concerning the yeare 1588. that it should be a yeare of marueiles. For yet remaine some Reuolutions depending thereof, neither is euery Reuolution accomplished in one selfe yeare: and this marueilous yeare hath not yet layd open all her marchandise, but will shortly: much lesse is it to any purpose to say, that there is no likelihood of these matters, for we know that the great whore of Rome shall say: I sit a Queene and am no widow, neither shall I see any mourning, then shall come vpon her nakednesse and widowhood, with weeping, mourning and sorrow. Howbeit if any shall obiect, that the faction of the Reformed is to weake to bring this to passe, I aunswere with the Reuelation, that God her Iudge is mightie. To be brief, let men say and thinke what they please, but I doe well know that we are in a marueilous periode and great Catastrophe, at the point to see a straunge alteration. For it is most certaine that Babylon shall fall, and that shortly and with a sodein fall, and it can not fall but with great murmure. It shalbe a wonderfull doome, when by the effectes, we shall heare the voyce of the maister of the house and king at his returne, as it were from a long iourney, saying, Bring vnto me these my enemies, that would not that I should raigne ouer them, and slay them before my face.

I promiſed to make the readers a banket, and they may complaine that it is a ſclender banket, where there is nothing but fruict & no fleſh, but they muſt remēber that I promiſed them nothing but fruictes, as alſo it is but a taſt for them, vntill the banket of the Lambe, wherein there ſhall be ſuch and ſo great plētie of fleſh, that the very foules of the aire ſhall haue enough, yea ſo much as euen to tread vpon the fleſh of kings, & of great & mighty men, for the very foules are alſo inuited to the banket of the Lambe there to be ſatisfied with the fleſh of Kings, Princes and mightie perſons. Thus doe Gods enemies enter great Leagues, to the end to make the crowes a feaſt of their carkaſes. Where our Lord ſaith, Reioyce for your deliueraunce is at hand, by that deliueraunce, I meane the deliueraunce whereby we be deliuered from the tyranny of Babylon through her ſodein fall, wherein it ſhall be ſaid, reſtore vnto her double according to her workes: for this reſtitution is not yet made, but I looke for it very ſhortly. And when this old Babell ſhall fall, new Ieruſalem ſhall be built, euen the ſame Babell that ſaith, I ſit a Queene and am no widow, neither ſhall I ſee any mourning: yet ſhall ſhe finde her ſelfe a widow, naked, and in heauineſſe: but the new Ieruſalem ſhall be decked vp and adorned as a Nymph to her ſpouſe. Therein ſhall we no longer be ſubiect to the Babylonian yoke of Canons and traditions full of confuſion, but to the gouernement of new Ieruſalem, which is as S. Paule calleth it, the gouernement of Iſraell. Let therefore the Paranimphes adorne the ſpouſe, and decke her vp in her goodlieſt ornamentes, that ſhe may be worthely preſented to her bridgrome: let the Stewards labour to become ſuch, as may yeeld a good accompt of their adminiſtration: and let the Virgines prepare their lampes, as knowing the bridegromes comming to be at hand, and bleſſed ſhall thoſe wiſe Virgines be, that may enter with the bridegrome to be partakers of the fruictes and food, brought forth at the banket of the Lambe.

Apoc. 19. 17.

AN ADDITION CONTEININGE A Discourse vpon the chaunging of the affaires by the death of the Duke of Guise.

IT is full twelue yeares and more since that discoursing vpon the state of matters, and the bringing in of superstition by Helene the mother of Constantine the Great, I knewe we should shortly see the ende therof through the destructiō of Babylon, accompanied with a triumphant deliuerie of the Church, triumphing at full ouer the Beast mentioned in the Reuelation. This knowledge was pricked forward, with a desire to stand in some stead, whereupon I suddenly purposed to make a search throughout Gods word, for matter conuenient thereto. And for as much as the knowledge of humane sciences was not vtterly vnprofitable, I determined to seaze vppon an *Encyclopedie*. This purpose haue I continued these twelue yeares, with great labour & small helpe, neither could I be drawen therefro by mine owne particular affaires, as preferring the study of Diuinitie, before all other things: as also Gods word is my heart, life, ioy, pleasure, peace and contentation, my delight, and vnto me all in all. Then began I to peruse Gods lawes more exactly then as yet I had done, and to distinguish them into a lawe simple figuratiue, and figuratiue Ceremoniall: then into a law of Ecclesiasticall Pollicie, and Ciuill Policie: thirdly into a Morall law, and an Euangelicke Morall, which teacheth that perfection whereat we ought to shoot, and whereof the naturall man is vncapable. These be sixe kinds of law, after all which, there is particularly a seuenth, whereby the spirit of God giueth to some, albeit to few the things that he will bring to passe in sundry ages, as he did the comming of the Messias vnto Simeon. Neither would I cōfound the simple figures with the ceremonies, albeit the ceremonies be figures, and most of the simple figures be histories, hauing relation to some end out of the historie, yet following the same, as also doe the ceremonies. As also I would not confound Ecclesiasticall gouernement with the ceremonie, no

more then with Ciuill gouernement.

Conferring therefore the Eccleſiaſticall Moſaical gouernment with the Euangelical, laying ſundry peeces into one ſelf worke; I found that the gouernement of the Newe Teſtament did no whit abrogate the Old. By the ſame meanes alſo I came to vnderſtand, that we did not ſo farre differ from the Catholickes; as before I ſuppoſed, as thinking that we had bene in ſtrife both for the eſtate and ſuperſtitions, and that the troubleſomneſſe of theſe two points, which ſerued for a bad ſurmiſe, to retaine the world in ſuperſtition, might be taken away.

Herupon I conferred with ſome miniſters of the Reformatiõ, who liked of this purpoſe, alſo with ſome of the Catholique Clergie, who likewiſe thought it to be good, ſo as I was greatly confirmed, in hope to ſee ſome good attonement come therof. Then hauing layed my matters in ſteepe, I went to Bourges in Berry, where the warres ſoone after ſurpriſed me: ſo as I found my retraite into Germany, to be more ſafe then into the Low Countries. There cõpoſed I a treatiſe, which I communicated with ſundry notable perſons, both Diuines, Lawyers, and men of eſtate, who all liked of my purpoſe: neuertheleſſe I could not find opportunity there to publiſh it: afterward comming into England I ioined this my firſt purpoſe with the argument of an Apologie, ſo of one ſtone to make two caſtes: and compoſed this former Treatiſe, which was in good time finiſhed about the ſpring & aſcention of the ſunne, which was about the time of the Duke of Guiſes death.

My intent was to fruſtrate Achitophels counſell, that is, to ſcatter & breake the purpoſes both of the Pope & the League. Alſo my booke was no ſooner done, but at the ſame inſtãt, God began to effect my propounded purpoſe: whereuppon I had a more faire path and free courſe for my booke. Which fauour of Almightie God, can not be but a good foreiudgement for the reſt of the ſucceſſe thereof. For it is a goodly matter, when a man findeth himſelfe a fellow labourer with God, and that God ſecondeth his purpoſes with the effects and ſucceſſe of matters. Moreouer, I will boldly ſay, that we may now aſſuredly affirme, that Babylon is fallen, that is to ſay, that the Papacie is ouer-

throwen,

throwen,& that there is no greater certaintie of the Duke Guiſes death, then of the deſtruction of the Papacie: for the diſſipation of the League, is the ſubuerſion of the Pope,& the League is now ouerthrowen both by ſea and by land. In the purſute of the League the Duke of Guiſes greateſt ouerſight was in that he dalied with the king,after him ſelf had offended him at Paris. And now hath the king as much offended the Pope: The king can therfore no longer truſt him,for he will with one eye laugh vpon him, and with the other betray him. God preſerue vs from Iudas Iſcariotes kiſſe. The Serpent that lurketh in the graſſe is daungerous, for we feele her before we ſee her, neither doe we perceaue her, but by the wound that ſhe hath made in vs. Thus may the Pope be diſmembred: Spaine lyeth too farre from the reſt of the dependances of the Papacie, to be able to ioyne or ſuccour them: beſides that it is weake of bloud: The king of Spaine ſhall find enough of the Defenſiue,albeit he enter not into the offenſiue: The Prince of Parma can not doe much for the League, he acquits him ſelfe well if he keepe his owne, which he hath gotten by force, and roughneſſe, and by money, neither is he beloued of the inhabitantes of the countrey,who will eaſely reuolt, as reaping but ſmall contentment at his handes,and being but badly affected toward him. Many Italian Princes and Lordſhips alſo do hold of the Pope in Fee, that had rather be their owne men then an other mans, and therefore will not faile to take occaſion if it be offered, and would ſoone condiſcend to a Counterleague, ſo as if any man would but renew the path which Charles of Bourbon firſt traced out,theſe would ſoone enlarge it,and vpon a neceſſitie finde mē enough to ſhare in the bootie, by reaſon of the great wealth that Rome hath long gathered together, ſo did Darius riches draw his enemies to his deſtruction.

Of the King we may with the old Poete ſay.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem,
Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem.

For he hath ſuffered them to ſpeake that accompt his wiſedome timorouſneſſe,& ſuffring thoſe to ſpeake, hath done better then to haue ſpoken. He hath bene wiſe enough to bring his

purpoſes to their point & period, with great dexteritie, & hath wiſely holpē him ſelfe with the Prouerbe, He that can not diſſemble can not raigne. To be brief, he hath bene able enough to ouercome the League, for the death of the Duke of Guiſe is the victory ouer the League, to which victory we may alſo adde an other, that is, that he hath ouercome many a mans hope. It is nothing for Hanniball to know how to ouercome, if he know not how to vſe his victory: But I hope the king will crowne this his good beginning with a better proſecution: for in theſe purpoſes it is requiſite to vſe great circumſpection, diſcretion and moderation, and that the king haue honeſt and faithfull men about him. For more are the Popes ſecrete driftes to be feared, then the open forces of the League. And ſith the king is ſhipt in this action, he can not but ſaile on while the winde bloweth. Theſe three thinges were neceſſarie, to abandone the Papacie: to ſtrengthen him ſelfe with the Clergie: and by reunion of his ſubiectes to reunite his forces. There is nothing more weake then the Papacie, yet is it ſtrong, if it be ſtrengthned with the Clergie: but if the Clergie be ſeparated from the Pope, he is vtterly ouerthrowen: if we abandon him, he can not reſiſt. He can do no hurt to thoſe that forſake him, but to thoſe that take part with him. Alſo albeit the Clergie were of the League, yet doth it not follow that the king ſhould impute vnto them the conſpiracie of the League: for the principall heades thereof, did ſtill perſwade the reſt, that the king had intelligence with them, neither did it fully appeare to the contrary, but by the Duke of Guiſes death. Alſo it is not good for a maiſter to ſee all that his ſeruaunts doe, but he muſt ſee ſome part and paſſe ouer the reſt. And clemency is very requiſite in a king.

I would wiſh the king not only to mainteine the ſtate of the Clergy, but alſo to relieue them frō the exactions of the League: & I wold wiſh the Clergie to prouide for the ſchiſme by aboliſhing all ſuperſtition, and ſurely the ſooner the better, for ending of the calamities of this warre: for they may ſee that a great part of the burden lighteth vpon their backes, which to remedie, the firſt point were to quench the ſchiſme, to the end

the

the king might reunite his forces to withſtand the League: and that were the ſureſt way for their eſtate, which ſtill tottereth vntill there be ſuch a Reformation as may no whit preiudice the ſtate, neither ſhall they euer finde fitter occaſion then now, while the king ſtandeth in neede of their amitie, that the Clergie may be his ſhield againſt the Pope and the League. Beſides that, our king is a wiſe and diſcret Prince, who will make no innouation in his ſtate: beſides that in all euents, if once there were a Reformation of ſuperſtitions made, they might more eaſily maintaine their eſtate only, then both their eſtate and the ſuperſtitions together: conſidering that their eſtate is frō God, and inſtituted by Gods lawes, whereas the ſuperſtitions are of deuils, as Sainct Paule teacheth, to whom God is an enemy, and it can not be but God will deſtroy them, and that can no worldly man preuent: yet may we prouide for the eſtate. Let vs looke that we reſiſt not God, leſt he continue his chaſtiſements by warres: but let vs appeaſe his wrath by framing our ſelues after our duetie, ſo will God conuert our calamities into felicitie, and doubtfull warre into an aſſured peace. I pray you are not an infinite number of liuing Images of Gods making, who by theſe warres are oppreſſed, of more importance then a few dead Idols, hewen out by caruers of Images, which by the Catholicke Romiſh Religion, are mainteined in temples and Churches? Let vs take care for Gods Images.

The laſt yeare at the Eaſter faire at Francfort, I cauſed to be printed a Latine Treatiſe of the day of iudgement, or of the ſeauē general iudgements, wherin I proued ſeauen general iudgements of God, whereof fiue are already paſt, and the ſixt or laſt ſauing one, is the iudgement of Babylon, whoſe principall period was in the yeare 1588. which many haue noted as a yeare of maruels: and the laſt is to come in the end of the world. I ſayd, that in that iudgement the Papacie ſhould come to ruine: neither was it any apparance that cauſed me ſo to ſay, euery thing ſeemed to premize the contrarie. The League ſwelled vp in Fraunce, but eſpecially in Spaine: euery man looked after great effects: there was no ſpeech but of great preparations and prouiſions for warres, made both in Spaine and in the Low coun-

treys. There was no diſcourſe, but of the wonderfull effects of the Spaniſh Nauie, ioyned with the Prince of Parmaes power. There was great preparation in Flanders of ſadles & bridles for the Engliſh geldings. I ſaid alſo, when the whore of Rome ſhal ſay, I ſit a Queene, & am no widow, neither ſhal I ſee any ſorow, then ſhall there fall vpon her widowhood, weeping and nakedneſſe. For we know, that the Beaſt muſt be wounded to death, and then recouered againe, which I ſaw accompliſhed: as alſo the ſame that is ſpoken of the ten hornes of the beaſt, that toke counſell together, is fulfilled in the counſell of the League. Beſides that, ſeing Satan worke his laſt endeuor to ouerthrow the partie of the Lambe, I doubted not but Ieſus Chriſt wold likewiſe work his, for our deliuery. I wiſt not that the League ſhold be ouercome by ſea, or that the King ſhould withſtand it, as he hath done: yet now do I ſee the effects ſucceede according to my diſcourſe and ſaying in my Treatiſe. In the Apologeticall Treatiſe going before, I alſo ſayd, that the League would vndoubtedly breake, yet knewe I not that the Duke of Guiſe ſhould be ſlaine: howbeit thereby I ſee my ſaying come to paſſe, before it be brought to light. And now do I not feare to ſay, that the Papacie ſhall fall, yea euen with a maruellous and ſudden fall. The death thereof will be knowen in a maner as ſoone as the ſickneſſe. I was not daunted at the great preparations of the League, neither ceaſed I in my Treatiſe to publiſh the ſame to be the reuolution of the Papall fall. For I diſcourſed thus. Cirus wrought great matters with ſmal power, but that came to paſſe becauſe the ſame was the reuolution of the Babylonian Empire, and the accompliſhment of the 70. yeares of the captiuitie of Iuda. Alexander the Great vanquiſhed the power of Darius, which was farre greater then his: but it was in the time of the period of the Perſian Empire. Iulius Cæſar wrought wonderful exploits: but in the ſame ſeaſon wherein God was preparing the world, that the Meſſias might be borne vnder the Romane Monarchie. Sith therefore the Pope and king of Spaine, made all theſe warlicke prouiſions to the end to eſtabliſh the Papacie, in the ſame ſeaſon wherein it ſhould be rooted vp, I concluded, that their endeuors ſhould be in vaine: and that now the time

of

of ſuperſtitions, which haue detained the woman in the wilder-
neſſe, being at an end, Babylon can no longer continue. And
God who hath the hearts of kings in his hand, will ſtir vp ſome
one that ſhal deſtroy it: yea that albeit no king would take that
in hand, yet that it is in Gods power, to make ſome vnder brãch
to ſpring vp in one night at the roote of the tree, that may be
able to preſcribe law to the tree, from out of whoſe roote it may
be ſprong. Howbeit if it be lawfull to ſpeake by coniecture, I
will ſay, that the name of Henrie ſeemeth fatall to the Papacie:
for Henry the 8. in England gaue the Pope a maruelous checke,
and now in Fraunce we ſee an other Henry giue him an other
checke, after this let him beware the Mate.

The order of the League at Paris is a good order, where por-
ters and day labourers are in greater credit then the Preſidents.
It ſeemeth that Spaine meaneth by her proctors to attempt
ſomewhat againſt Fraunce: but ſhe were not beſt. Spaine hath
more neede to feare then to hope, and to keepe her ſelfe, then to
enterpriſe againſt others. She is but weake of walles and blood,
and hath no ſtrength but in penſe and Miluedies, and thoſe are
alſo well ſhronke and waſted, through the continuall warres in
Flanders, Hannibal ſuppoſed that for the pinching of Rome, he
needed not go to ſeeke her out of Italie. I thinke if the Spaniard
were well tickled in his owne countrey, it would trouble him
ſhrewdly, and that were the ſureſt ſuccour that might be mini-
ſtred to the Low countreys. But eſpecially it were requiſite to
carie thither ſome ſtore of New Teſtaments, and Bibles in Spa-
niſh, with other ſmall Treatiſes againſt ſuperſtition. For Gods
word is a good ſeede, which can not but fructifie when once it is
planted and hath taken roote in a place, neither will it eaſily be
plucked vp againe. But in matters of eſtate I would wiſh cir-
cumſpection, and with moderation and modeſtie to win mens
hearts, rather then to ſtir them vp with vanitie, idle ſpeech, raſh-
neſſe & inſolencie: for ſuch things do rather deſtroy then edifie.

The League hath ſharpned it ſelfe to cut of the Huguenots,
but the edge is wel broken by the Duke of Guiſes death. Theſe
be two bad prognoſticatiõs for the good ſucceſſe of the League,
that is, the ſcattering of the Nauie, and the death of Guiſe: as

alſo they be good exãples to teach ſubiects to attempt nothing againſt the ſtate of their King: for the Maieſtie of a king is a ſacred matter, & it is dangerous attempting any thing there againſt. When a man hath cõmitted a fault, the beſt way is to reclame himſelf by making amends, rather then obſtinatly to caſt away him ſelfe therin. And therfore the Duke of Neuers, & the Lord of Antragues dealt wel & wiſely in taking the kings part as alſo the King did well and wiſely in taking all that they had done vnder the League which return to him, as not done at all.

If a man will be wicked, he muſt execute his buſineſſe cunningly, or not meddle at all, otherwiſe he doth iniurie to his occupation. Euen ſo if they would needes enterpriſe the League, they ſhould haue begun by ſeazing vpon the Kings perſon, & ſeeing they could not compaſſe that, they ſhould haue attempted nothing. But what? euery one hath his time: and he that muſt make a bad ende, muſt labour to doe euill, for euil neuer commeth of well doing: for it is an excellent thing, to do well to haue well: to liue well, to die well: and to begin well, to end well, ſith vertue only is to be rewarded with honor.

It is not impoſſible for a conſpiracie againſt a King to take effect: but linger it neuer ſo little it is hard to bring it to paſſe. And the League hath lingered too long in France to be able to attaine any good ſucceſſe. It is ſaid that the Portingall mares do conceiue of the wind: euen ſo was the League conceiued, but that which is bred of wind, ſhall returne into wind and ſmoke, Euery thing ſhal return to his firſt originall, & ſo the beaſt that came out of the bottomleſſe pit ſhall returne to perdition: yet will ſhe make ſome defenſe, ſet a good face on a bad game, and with her only countenance ſeeke to terrifie the King & his ſubiectes: but what? ſuch a dogge barketh, that maketh her ſoule to quake in her belly. She wil waſt of her ſelf, ſhe wil breed brauls, quarels & diſcontentmẽts. Where there is no lawfull head euery man will be Maiſter, & when by reaſon of cõpetitors they may not, they grow to diſcontentment: alſo not ſeeing any ſufficient recompence preſently, or any future hope, will knowe that without any net they haue ſnared themſelues in too great a Labyrinth, & therfore will retire before they be deeper in, and the wiſer

wiser sort will be the first that will do so. If I would hazard my selfe for the purchase of a hope, truly it shoulde be both an honorable and a certaine hope: but it is no great wisedom to hazard both life and goodes vpon a doubtfull hope, full of dishonor and infamie. If therefore in this action there were no more in effect, but the Kings demõstration by the death of the Duke of Guise, that he holdeth the League for a conspiracy, yet cannot the end be honorable, and it is too great a hazard to meddle against a King.

There is without comparison, more honour and fatetie on the Kings side, then in taking part with the League: for albeit the League should ouercome, yet can she reproch nothing to those that serued their Prince: whereas they that stand with the League against the king, can no way shunne great reproch, besides the danger. Yet will I excuse such as following the Duke of Neuers example, shall returne to the king, for peraduenture they knew not the drifts of the League, when they embraced it, and when a man is once in, he can not so soone resolue how to get out againe. Euery nouelty delighteth the French, but after some tast, they are soone glutted, and the French man remembreth him selfe. Euen so was the League embraced as a noueltie, but at length men will grow wearie and giue it ouer. I will not forget one pretie part that the League played with the Lord of Boneide Gouernour of Thoul. For he vpon great goodwill to the Duke of Guise yeelded him the towne, but he was so dispossessed of his gouernement, & in recompence the Duke of Guise gaue him the gouernement of a paltry Castle. It was pitie the Lord of Moncassin did not the like, for so might he likewise haue had the custody of some baggage cabbin, in stead of the Citadel of Mets: but he was wiser and trustier then so.

Surely the League will yet make some a do, but we shal perceaue the vaine endeuors thereof. Being armed with the Kings fauour, it could do nothing against the Reformed onely, how then can it now continue hauing both partes against it? After some gorgeous entrie, it will returne vs some leane and pitifull issue, and the good shall haue the vpperhand: for God is the protector of the righteous mans cause. Considering the Duke

of Guiſes death, it can not be but there will be perpetual enimitie betweene the houſes of France and of Guiſe: and how good a face ſoeuer the Pope ſet on the matter, yet is he no leſſe offended, as being chiefe of the League, and therefore I dare auowe, that the King and France can not be both friends to the Pope and enemies to the League. All theſe do ſeeke by ſecret meanes to attempt againſt the Kings perſon, and to annoy the ſtate of Fraunce. Neither can the King better prouide here againſt, then by aduauncing the houſe of Bourbon, eſpecially the king of Nauarre, a Prince well borne, who will neuer abandon his fidelitie and due obedience to the King, as alſo he is a valiant Prince, & one to whom the houſe of Guiſe beareth no leſſe malice, then to the King him ſelfe. Beſides, if the ſayd King of Nauarre were dead, they would the more boldly attempt againſt the kings perſon, whereas while he is in credit, they ſhall haue the leſſe opportunitie ſo to do. And had the League preuailed in Fraunce, it might through the Popes fauour, haue ſhut vp the king into ſome Monaſterie, which the king of Nauarre neither will nor can do: neither is there like fidelitie as in the Huguenots.

For rather will they take then do harme.

FINIS.